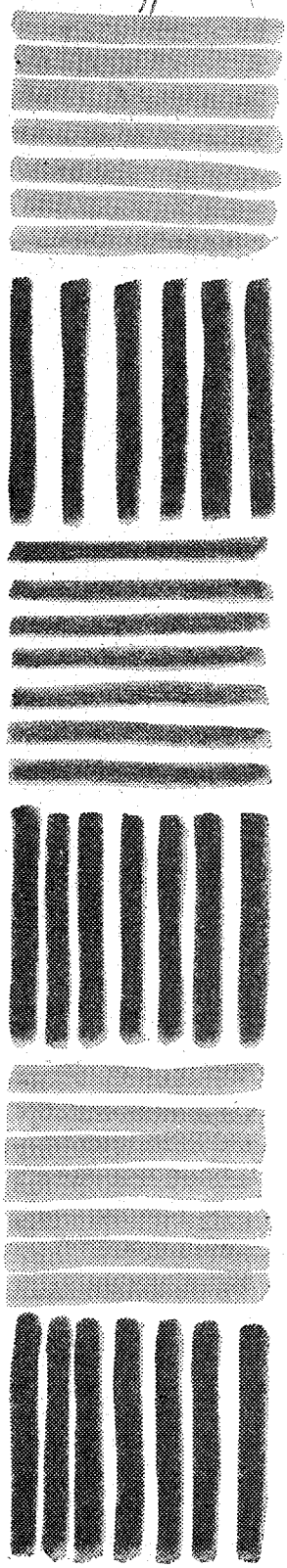
THE SINCERE SARTRE: George P. Elliott

THE NATION

September 14, 1964 . . 35c



Investigation or Trial?

THE WARREN COMMISSION

Maurice Rosenberg

Summer in Mississippi

Freedom Moves In To Stay

Jerry DeMuth

The Cat and Mouse Game

Elizabeth Sutherland

CUBA: Our Cold-Shoulder Policy

Richard A. Falk

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Voice of sanity

New York City

Dear Sirs: All honor to Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening for voting against the joint Congressional resolution that, in effect, endorses our government's past and continuing massive intervention in Southeast Asia. Their courage in resisting the bandwagon, "extremist" psychology of an election year deserves the highest respect and praise. I predict that our nation's intervention in Southeast Asia during the past decade will be recognized in the future as one of its darkest episodes. And I further predict that the names of Senators Morse and Gruening will emerge then as representing the voice of sanity, good faith and reason. . . . *Helen Mears*

Semantics?

Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Stanley Elam, in his recent article, "Union or Guild: Organizing the Teachers" [*The Nation*, June 29], inadvertently exposes the greatest defect in teachers' organizations. There are too many theoreticians like himself — Lieberman, Dewey, Childs, Counts—and too few organizers of the legendary Jimmy Higgins or Joe Hill type. If the Phi Delta Kappan had been a teacher in Utah and in New York City, he wouldn't have to resort to semantics in choosing union or association. If he were not so upwardly mobile, he would recognize that the anti-Hoffa stereotypes are the usual big lies to distort the AFT's affiliations to the AFL-CIO. As an educated editor he should recall that similar low-brow blue collars with union labels struggled for the free public schools in the last century. . . .

B. J. Zukas

Negro removal

Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sirs: A young Negro scientist friend wrote us recently about Rochester:

I lived there many years ago and am well aware that the Negroes, being the first minority to arrive in the town and early fighters for freedom, now found themselves last in sharing equally in the town. Clarissa Street has been systematically torn down by Urban "Negro Removal" and the colored population has been constricted tighter and tighter into a small cordon of blocks. . . . Last summer when I visited my aunt who lives near Clarissa I noted three large rats ambling down her street in broad daylight. To a naturalist this indicates a large rodent population and that even the rats don't have places to live in the congestion.

This could happen in Detroit too. Every area in town that I know of that has been cleared for redevelopment or freeways has displaced large numbers of Negroes, some of whom owned fairly decent homes. They are rarely able to purchase or move into equivalent housing, and they *never* can move back into the new housing.

Lucy Haessler

Best analysis

Bronx, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: "Goldwaterism" by Carey McWilliams [*The Nation*, Aug. 24] is by far the best political analysis of this far Right movement I have read, bar none. *G. A. Caparelli*

Tendentious

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs: With regard to your editorial, "Shortening the Fuse," in the Aug. 24 issue, I cannot agree that President Johnson can be accused of "excessive retaliatory action" over the recent incident in the Gulf of Tonkin. I believe that many of us can be relieved that President Johnson has shown that unspectacular restraint which we must demand of our Chief Executive. I find the thrust of your editorial tendentious in that your first premise is that the United States does not belong in South Vietnam. I will concede that my view approving the President's conduct is equally tendentious in that I believe that the United States is properly involved in South Vietnam (in principle if not in every detail).

Paul S. Weinberg

Fewer bullets

Trouville, France

Dear Sirs: American foreign policy seems to require the killing of a generation of idealistic youth in a score of countries. The most urgent job before liberals is that of offering an alternative to the blind anti-communism that consumes the State Department; and there are alternatives.

We must permit the spread of vying, variant Marxist states. Rumania, China and Yugoslavia already have been a problem for Russia. Nationalism would bring to our side the peoples of Southeast Asia who fear Chinese domination as they hate ours. . . .

We have no license to suppress an idea, but we have a duty to defend our country. It can be done with fewer weapons and less blind fear of change . . . by a policy of friendship with all who will huddle with us for protection against China, regardless of the economic coloration of those willing to die to get rid of the puppets and generals and dictators we propose for them. . . . *David Mandel*

THE NATION

Monday, September 14, 1964
Volume 199, No. 6

In this issue

EDITORIALS

101

ARTICLES

Summer in Mississippi:

104 Freedom Moves In To Stay
Jerry DeMuth

105 The Cat and Mouse Game
Elizabeth Sutherland

110 The Warren Commission
Maurice Rosenberg

113 Cuba: Our Cold-Shoulder Policy
Richard A. Falk

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

118 Childhood of a Leader
George Elliott

118 Vesalius (poem)
Robert Kelly

120 A Critic's Credo
Harold Clurman

122 Mythology (poem)
Joel Oppenheimer

Art in Court:

123 City of Angels vs. Scorpio Rising
Fred Haines

125 Candy Comes to Chicago
Bruce Cook

126 Drought (poem)
Allen Planz

127 Records
Benjamin Boretz

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 128)
Frank W. Lewis

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Robert Hatch, Managing Editor
Elizabeth Sutherland, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Copy Editor
Grandin Conover, Assistant Editor
Harold Clurman, Theatre
Max Kozloff, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
Denise Levertov, Poetry
Alexander Werth, Europe
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Sept. 14, 1964. Vol. 199, No. 6

The Nation is published weekly (except in July and August, when biweekly) by The Nation Company and copyright 1964 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10014. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Foreign and Canadian postage: $1 extra per year.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest and the Public Affairs Information Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Keating for Senator

As between Robert F. Kennedy and Kenneth B. Keating, in the New York Senatorial race, *The Nation* favors Senator Keating. There is no need to await the electioneering; it does not promise to be enlightening. The men can be judged on their records and motives to date. The only factor that might arise to change the picture would be Keating's "discovery," under pressure from his party, that Goldwater was not so bad, after all. One can never be sure in politics, but Keating is neither a hypocrite nor a fool, and to espouse the Goldwater cause at this juncture he would have to be both.

On the issues there is little to choose. Both candidates have generally good civil rights records, but Kennedy has had greater opportunities than Keating and has temporized miserably in a number of situations, as in his recommendations of Dixiecrats for federal judgeships. Neither man has been good on civil liberties, but Kennedy may enjoy the edge. On Cuba both are bad and it can be predicted that they will vie with each other in waging a campaign war against Castro.

The Nation is not greatly exercised over Kennedy's invasion of New York, blatant though it is. There happens to be a loophole in the federal law and he took advantage of it. It is not certain that it would be desirable from a national standpoint to close the loophole or discourage further excursions. Senators have always tended to represent a national point of view, and the country is much more a single national community than it once was.

Keating has more experience in New York affairs, but to no great avail. He has not been able to get more arms contracts for the state, although he has tried hard. *The Nation* would not be impressed if he had had better success. Some voters may prefer Kennedy on this score. That is one way to vote, if one has no other convictions.

The New York reform groups dislike Kennedy because they regard him as too close to the Democratic bosses. The argument does not stand up under close examination. The Kennedys, as a clan, use the bosses more than the bosses are able to use them. The Kennedys are too intelligent and too arrogant to be subservient. Actually, a deplorable leadership vacuum exists in the New York section of the Democratic Party—in place of Smith, Roosevelt, Lehman, there are hacks, has-beens and mediocrities. Kennedy would almost certainly help to revive the party as a state-wide organization. By the same token, he would help the national ticket.

One can argue back and forth like this, yet the count goes decisively against Kennedy. What should defeat him is his patent attempt to *use* the Senate seat, to *use* the New York electorate to further his grandiose ambitions, and to do this in a hard-boiled, almost insolent fashion. The impression he gives is that he does not want to serve the people of his hastily adopted state, nor the people of the nation. He is out to serve himself. There may be other considerations but they are marginal to this Kennedy's thinking. One can see what is going through his mind. Here is a key state with a big electoral vote, the financial and communications center of the country, to be had for the grabbing.

If Robert Kennedy had really wanted to further the plans and ideals of his late brother, he could have served them gallantly by running against Harry Byrd, who is out for a sixth term in Virginia and who stands as a roadblock to most of the things John F. Kennedy cherished. Robert has been living in Virginia; he could have stayed there and been above reproach. He has the money and the time; he is young, and if he were unable to displace the Byrd machine on his first try, a defeat would not have harmed him in the long run.

Keating was a somewhat better-than-average Representative for several terms and gets about the same rating as a Senator. But he is devoted to the Senate. No one questions his desire to serve the people of New York. And he is entitled to respect for his refusal to ally himself with Goldwater. His motives may be political in part, but there is every reason to believe, also, that Goldwater really goes against his grain. In itself that would not be a sound reason for endorsing him. What impresses us, in making a choice, is that Senator Keating respects the office he holds and to which he seeks re-election. What we object to about Mr. Kennedy's candidacy is precisely what Rep. Samuel Stratton said about it. Mr. Kennedy, he said, is "not really interested in serving the state, but in becoming a Senator as a diversionary undertaking on the way to something else." We adhere to the perhaps quaintly old-fashioned notion that a Senator is supposed to serve the people, not to use them.

General Khanh's Ailment

Nguyen Khanh—General, Premier or whatever he is—last week came down out of the hills to grasp for a second time the reins of his plunging, chaotic country. In his week of mountain recuperation, he presented a fascinating medical problem. His condition has been variously diagnosed by journalists as a severe cold, a heart ailment, exhaustion from overwork, a physical and mental breakdown, or nothing at all. One journalist who interviewed him reported that Khanh did not appear to be mentally ill. The patient concurred: "I am not at that stage yet," he declared.

What the general appears to be suffering from is crisis fatigue brought on by wretched judgment. The fact that the unbroken succession of errors, not only by Khanh but by his predecessors, was encouraged or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dictated by his American "advisers" will not improve matters in the slightest. What is significant, however, is that Khanh's usefulness to those advisers has about ended.

What remains? Saigon is a snake pit of intrigue, the people suffer from acute war fatigue, the Americans on the spot and in Washington are at their wits' end, and South Vietnam is in a state bordering on anarchy. Writing from Saigon for the Associated Press, Malcolm Browne quotes a high-ranking Vietnamese official: ". . . the unpleasant fact is that the Vietcong is the only strong, stable political group with mass following in South Vietnam. In a certain sense, it is perhaps a testament to the Vietnamese people that they have been able to organize such an effective Communist movement." The official with whom Browne conversed sees only three choices: let the Vietcong govern, let the country sink into anarchy, or let the Americans run the nation, which would inevitably mean sending in combat troops.

But we are not willing to accept any of these alternatives. "The events of the past week in Saigon," reports Crosby S. Noyes, Foreign Affairs Editor of the Washington *Star*, "have strengthened, rather than weakened, the determination of the American Government to hold on in Vietnam at all costs. The strong impression given by top officials in Washington is that if it comes to a choice, they would prefer to enlarge the war in Vietnam rather than pull American forces out of the area. They would, of course, very much prefer to do neither." But there is one turn events might take that, in Mr. Noyes's assessment, could bring about the withdrawal of American forces, namely, "the accession to power of a neutralist government which would demand such a withdrawal. . . ." It is a measure of the bankruptcy of American policy in Vietnam that we would prefer to run the risk of leaving at the request of a neutralist regime—which would seem to be the ultimate humiliation—rather than begin negotiating for the neutralization of all Southeast Asia—which would necessarily involve recognition of Red China. It is not General Khanh alone who suffers from crisis fatigue.

Foundations as 'Fronts'

Rep. Wright Patman is to be commended for his decision to disclose, even though he had apparently been told it in confidence, that since 1959 the CIA has used the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York as "a conduit for channeling CIA funds." For a moment the secrecy curtain was lifted on a significant aspect of the CIA's operations, but the next day it was promptly lowered. It was up long enough, however, and high enough, to give press and public a glimpse of some extremely interesting scenery. For example, Mr. Patman disclosed that certain foundations—Gotham Foundation, Michigan Fund, Andrew Hamilton Fund, Bordon Fund, Price Fund, Edsel Fund, Beacon Fund and Kentifield Fund—had contributed large sums to the J. M. Kaplan Fund. By clear inference, these funds were made available to the eight foundations by the CIA. In a word, the CIA had channeled funds to eight foundations which, in turn, had channeled them to the Kaplan Fund. On its face, this is a typically clumsy CIA maneuver which has only the appearance of cleverness. The Kaplan Fund's benefactions have included such popular cultural projects as Shakespeare in the Park and any number of splendid social causes. Precisely because this fund would seem to be an unlikely conduit, it was by CIA standards a good one. But the agency had other and more urgent reasons for turning to the Kaplan Fund. Some of the eight foundations listed—we shall single out no names—are simply CIA spin-offs, that is, they are creatures of the agency and nothing else and have been known as such for quite some time. Moreover, the CIA had reason to believe that certain of these "fronts" had attracted the curiosity and attention of some publications; after all, word does get around. Not so long ago, *The Nation* asked one of the eight listed foundations to furnish a list of its recent grants; in fact we indicated that we would be grateful if just one could be cited as a sample of its policy. The inquiry seemed entirely proper; foundations are semi-public institutions. But the request was curtly refused.

The Kaplan Fund, by contrast, is known to support a number of worth-while projects, and CIA-motivated ploys could thus be sandwiched inconspicuously among the responsible benefaction. *The New York Times*, editorializing on the situation last week, fears that, particularly overseas, people will assume that sauce for the Kaplan Fund is sauce also for foundations not yet specifically tagged with undercover money. The paper suggests that American scholars working abroad may now find it very difficult to convince their hosts that they are not code-carrying members of the American espionage network.

In discussing Mr. Patman's disclosure, some newspapers have said that neither the press nor the public should inquire into the "legitimately secret" operations of the CIA. But the difficulty is to determine which CIA projects are "legitimately secret" or, to put it more bluntly, which are legitimate. For example, should the CIA be permitted to channel funds to magazines in London—and New York—which pose as "magazines of opinion" and are in competition with independent journals of opinion? Is it proper for CIA-supported magazines to offer large sums in payment of single poems by East European and Russian poets regarded as men of a character who might be encouraged to defect by what, in the context, could be regarded as a bribe? Is it a "legitimate" function of the CIA to finance, indirectly, various congresses, conventions, assemblies and conferences devoted to "cultural freedom" and kindred topics? Is it a legitimate function of the agency to channel funds to certain American labor organizations for "civic action" programs in Central and South American—thereby enabling the unions to win public applause for "generously" supporting the country's foreign policy, when in fact the unions are being used as fronts for an intelligence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agency? Is it legitimate for famous American universities to palm off on the public, as scholarly research, work which has been subsidized by the CIA and should properly be classified as propaganda? The secrecy curtain should not be lowered on this subject matter; legitimate questions are involved and they deserve legitimate answers.

Barry In Space

Senator Goldwater's appeal to the voters is a curious amalgam of *ad hominem* vulgarity ("You want your wife to be *moderately* faithful?"), wrongheadedness bordering on farce and, since he talks a lot, an occasional ricochet into a semblance of reason. In the space field he has chosen to expose his views in one of those "science" magazines which run ads addressed to men past 40 who are nagged by backache, men anxious to earn money in spare time, amateur hypnotists, free-lance inventors, et al. On the cover, Goldwater shares billing with a stunt motorcyclist. Still, he starts off with a view held by many scientists— he is opposed to a manned race to the moon. Immediately, however, he goes off on a typical Goldwater tangent —he feels that in trying to land a man on the moon before the end of the decade we are falling for "Kremlin propaganda" and spending billions which should be going into military activity in space. Within the critical orbital altitude of 1,000 miles we must establish "daily surveillance" as soon as possible, and acquire the additional capabilitites of positive identification, interception and destruction of enemy vehicles.

In accordance with this well-established Air Force formula, NASA might as well prepare to go out of business. Goldwater lays it on the line: "All manned space research should be directed by the military, with national security and control of the access to space as primary goals." We will go up there and they —you know who—are to be kept out or shot down. Control of the world is the stated purpose of the Communists. The nation that controls access to space will control the world. We must be that nation. The lads on the motorcycles will surely agree.

Goldwater regards the nuclear test-ban treaty as a menace to our security. Under its terms: "we cannot develop nuclear weapon systems for the control of enemy access to space." Goldwater is pretty sure that the Russians will cheat, maybe are cheating already, and Uncle Sam is being gulled. He doesn't believe that a real clash between Soviet and Chinese goals exists. "The Soviets," he declares, "could clandestinely test in the atmosphere, in space and under water by way of Red China."

What shall we do to be saved? We must establish as soon as possible a military (Air Force) orbital space station—"*Now* is the time to start on this vital program" (Goldwater's italics). We must also institute a "crash program" to develop the laser as a weapon—the laser, thank God, is not interdicted by the test-ban treaty. Somebody has told Goldwater that "particular kinds of lasers could, with lethal certainty, vaporize nuclear space weapons before they could harm our territory. Such lasers *must* be developed as soon as possible" (again, Goldwater's italics).

Vaporizing an ICBM is not the same as melting a razor blade across the laboratory, which is the most that laser experts can do at present with this beam of light. And if we can solve the problems of power supply, target acquisition and aiming, so can the Russians. But that is the way Goldwater's mind works. It is all there, and much more, over his by-line in *Science & Mechanics*, Vol. 35, No. 6, June, 1964, 35c.

Americans at Sea

For once, the cold war has had a beneficial result. For once, also, the federal government is sponsoring a maritime subsidy that will actually benefit the nation. President Johnson has signed a bill authorizing a five-year $10 million annual disbursement to help rebuild and modernize the U.S. commercial fishing fleet. By law, American fishing vessels must be built in American shipyards, where costs run about 50 per cent higher than in foreign yards. The new law provides for a maximum subsidy of 50 per cent of the construction cost.

In 1956 the United States stood in second place in its share of the total world catch—about 13 per cent. The percentage has since dropped to about half of the 1956 figure, and we are presently in fifth place. In a *Science* (September 4, 1964) editorial, Athelstan F. Spilhaus, dean of the Institute of Technology at the University of Minnesota, points out that in exploiting the sea we face the most formidable kind of competition. The Russians in particular fish "on our doorstep" with hundreds of modern, factory-type ships, and on the other side of the continent the Japanese do the same. Without federal help, our fishing industry simply is not in the running. [See articles by William S. Ellis, *The Nation*, April 28, 1962, and November 23, 1963.]

Dean Spilhaus goes far beyond immediate problems, however. Man, he argues, is going to colonize the oceans, and it might as well be our men. Others too will take care of their own—going deeper, staying down longer, studying the currents and interactions and the life and chemicals that exist at various depths. Small deep-diving submarines will prospect the oceans, and platforms, on the surface and submerged at various depths, will give access to deposits of minerals. Phosphorites and diamonds are already being taken commercially from the continental shelves, and minerals are known to exist in enormous quantities in the form of nodules which may be mined when appropriate techniques are developed. Dean Spilhaus points out that one of the best investments the nation ever made was in the land-grant act of a hundred years ago, which gave a decisive impetus to science, scientific agriculture and the mechanic arts. He calls for sea-grant colleges analogous to the land-grant colleges, to focus attention on marine science, aquaculture and oceanic engineering. The oceans offer greater opportunities for useful exploitation than airless space, and at less cost and risk.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summer in Mississippi

Freedom Moves In To Stay

Jerry DeMuth

"Miss. Summer Project to End Aug. 24, 700 Students to Abandon This State," the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* headlined on August 8. But there were no signs of it at the more than twenty project locations. About 200 volunteers have elected to stay for at least six months and three aspects of the summer project—the Freedom Schools, the community centers and the voter-registration activities—will be continued.

By late August there were forty-seven Freedom Schools, with 2,500 pupils, in more than two dozen communities. Plans before the summer began were for fourteen such schools. "We're going to continue into the winter," explains Dr. Staughton Lynd of Yale University, Freedom School director. The schools will meet primarily at night because youths are attending public schools during the day. And new schools are being planned. Two panel trucks, for example, are being staffed and equipped to serve as schools in Neshoba County, where the three civil rights workers were killed last June.

The thirteen community centers will continue with the help of local adults and volunteers who are staying on; new buildings for such centers are being constructed in two rural settlements, Mileston and New Harmony, and one is planned for the large town of Greenville.

Voter-registration activities will be renewed. In the weeks just before the Democratic National Convention, emphasis was shifted from regular registration to gaining support for the Freedom Democratic Party. Voter-registration workers spent most of their time explaining the party to Negroes and getting those who supported it, and were without fear, to "freedom register."

By early August one or more of the three programs existed in about twenty towns. As workers from these projects made closer contact with other communities in their counties they began to move permanently into these areas, and new projects were born. In Marshall County, for example, the project has headquarters in Holly Springs. Its workers began reaching into adjoining counties as they went canvassing outside that town. Volunteers from Holly Springs were soon working in six counties, with plans to move into two more. In Panola County, seventeen volunteers lived and worked in the county seat of Batesville. Four teams had moved from Batesville to Crowder, Crenshaw, Como and Sardis.

A particularly interesting example of such expansion occurred in Sunflower County where the project has its headquarters in Ruleville, home of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer (see *The Nation*, June 1). A Freedom School, community center and voter-registration activities are all operated in a small frame house on the edge of this town of 2,000. Cardboard from cartons forms the ceiling. The unpainted walls are covered with maps and pictures. Shelves holding about a thousand books line the walls.

In the morning, young children play inside while their mothers meet on the lawn in back, sitting on benches in the shade of a few pecan trees. These women are taught health, first aid, reading, writing, and Negro history. In the afternoon, after the Negro public school lets out, teen-agers meet for classes. The Negro schools in the delta are open in July and August so they can close in September and October, freeing the youngsters to work in the cotton fields.

In mid-July, Ruleville organized a mass rally at Indianola, a town some 22 miles away. James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, gave the main address, but perhaps the most important speaker was Oscar Giles, an Indianola Negro. Giles rose from the audience and announced he was with the movement 100 per cent and would give it all the support he

Jerry DeMuth, a free-lance writer working in the South, has contributed to The Nation *several articles on the civil rights movement.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could. This was his first involvement with the civil rights movement. Giles had been waiting for the rights workers to come to Indianola, had been waiting ever since spring when he returned from a trip to Chicago and decided he had to do something about his people in Mississippi. Now he began moving with the civil rights workers and would keep on moving.

Three workers came from Ruleville to set up a project in Indianola. An old house was found and the workers began to fix it up. A group of Baptist ministers donated their old school to the project, a brick building, surrounded on three sides by fields of cotton. Materials began to arrive from the Seattle Friends of the SNCC group—art supplies, books, prints. A library was started and the walls became covered—with maps and photos of the non-white world, ancient and modern—and with prints by Miro, Daumier, Feininger, Gauguin, Kandinsky and others. Even the walls in the washroom were covered. A Citizens Band radio was installed and the tall antenna erected. It would be used to keep in touch with Ruleville and with the project's radio-equipped cars. On August 6, the finishing touch was added; a

(*Continued on page 108*)

The Cat and Mouse Game

Elizabeth Sutherland

Jackson, Miss.

To say that the summer just past was, in Mississippi, less bloody than it could have been, might sound too much like the FBI agent who came to investigate the shooting of a Negro in Jackson and was heard to say, "His head's not blown off? Oh, then it's not as bad as we thought."

It might also seem highly questionable to Silas McGhee, the young Negro who was shot in Greenwood on a recent Saturday night after his seven attempts to integrate a local movie theatre, or to Stokeley Carmichael, a SNCC field secretary who lost one automobile to a fire bomb and whose present car has more than its share of bullet holes. The Summer Project headquarters in Jackson has mimeographed a list of "incidents," from shootings of this type to church burnings and traffic-violation arrests, during the period of June 16 to August 14. It covers thirty-four pages, most of them legal size and single-spaced. Yet much of it has the curious monotony of a cat-and-mouse game; over and over again, the same arrests on phony charges, followed by early release on payment of bail; the same homemade bombs which somehow don't go off (or blow up windows but not people); the same obscene threats which stop short of fatality. The picture which emerges is more depressing than horrifying, and it's a relief to hear of the cops using some imagination now and then—making an arrest for "reckless walking" or raiding an office for what they called "deflammatory literature."

Last July, in Hattiesburg, I was waiting for the police to release project director Robert Moses, who had been stopped for speeding. An FBI poster in the station carried photos of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, then still missing, and I felt that in their presence the police wouldn't do anything really terrible to us that day. It was irrational but not altogether untrue, for the furore which followed the disappearance of those three so early in the summer —the hordes of FBI agents and sailors, newsmen and federal officials who descended on the state —made a strong, distasteful impression on local authorities. The hordes came, it is true, only because two of the missing youths were whites: indirectly, the major reason for the limited bloodshed last summer was the presence of so many white volunteers, particularly girls.

The degree of violence varied from one county to another, partly because the county sheriffs, elected officials whose power would be hard for a Northern city-dweller to imagine, range from Ben Collins, spraying volunteers with obscenities and, on one occasion, a real deodorant, to somewhat rational fellows anxious to keep a trouble-free record. The more sophisticated, or those receptive to more sophisticated influence from higher-ups like Senator John Stennis, would do a great deal to avoid federal intervention. The authorities of Indianola posted a notice urging all citizens to exercise restraint toward "the so-called Freedom Workers." In Greenville, a police officer was heard to give the order, "If it's a local guy, throw him out; if it's one of those agitators, take it easy." And in Gulfport, on the southern coast, the police sent a car to stand guard near the project office for some two hours when the workers there reported that a midnight bombing had been threatened by telephone. Inside the office, no one except me was even watching the clock.

Some of this "protection" has been indistinguishable from harassment: who can say with certainty whether the police car driving past a project office late at night is looking for would-be attackers outside or aiming to jangle the nerves of those inside? One never knows; and that is the quality of fear in a cat-and-mouse game. Inescapable, amorphous, unpredictable—"the worst kind of fear I have ever felt," said a Californian who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and organized miners in a tough West Virginia town. Considerations of Mississippi's relative bloodlessness last summer have little bearing on that emotion.

Still, one can say that by mid-July the white civil rights worker had less to fear generally from the authorities than from the rednecks, whereas before they seemed equally dangerous. This does not mean that these two groups are the only sources of violence; there are also the "respectables," like the salesmen who machine-gunned SNCC worker James Travis last year. Nor does it mean that the groups operate independently. The authorities have created a climate of permissiveness in which others do the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dirty work. Thus, to be stopped by the police might or might not mean a day in jail, perhaps a beating, while to be chased by a gang of whites down a foggy country road at 1 A.M. raised a different question and only one: how fast can your car go?

None of these variations and distinctions applied to local Negroes, of course, and they applied in a much diminished degree to Negro volunteers. If the project had been able to fulfill its earlier hope, which called for a high ratio of Negroes, the whole summer might have been very different.

Northern reaction to the disappearance of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner not only improved the behavior of local officials; it also taught a lesson to COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations which served as the project's official sponsor, although actually SNCC staffed four of the state's five districts, with CORE working the other one. Betty Garman of SNCC tells how holding the FBI over local heads guaranteed the safety of some workers driving through a small town near Greenwood after a Freedom Democratic Party meeting. They reported that they were being followed by a game warden and an unidentified car; she called the FBI, then told the county sheriff she had done so and was about to notify the Department of Justice. A few minutes later, he sent out the order: "Let the brown Pontiac go through." Some volunteers followed a similar tactic one night in McComb, when a sympathetic local Negro was jailed at 1 A.M. with bail set too high ($950.57) to be raised until the next day. Knowing that local people are the most vulnerable, and remembering Philadelphia, the workers placed collect calls to friends and newspaper contacts from California to Boston, who then telephoned the McComb jail to inquire about the prisoner's condition. When lawyers arrived the next morning, they not only found the Negro in good condition but also were able to have his bail sharply reduced and the trial held over to permit removal to a federal court —a courtesy the police need not have extended. An officer was heard to mutter, "All they want is publicity. They'll even burn down their own place to get it."

His second sentence was a familiar Southern fantasy, but the first contained some truth. Publicity has played a key role in the COFO security system, which begins with certain ground rules as outlined in a notice on one wall of the Jackson headquarters office:

> (1) Anyone leaving town should check with our WATS operator. (2) Call collect for the person you checked out with as soon as you arrive at your destination. (3) If you are driving a car other than your own, get authorization slip from legal dept.

The WATS line (Wide Area Telephone Service), to which considerable mystique attaches, was the heart of all security and communications. In the delta town of Greenwood, where SNCC moved its national headquarters for the summer, there were two WATS lines: one covering the entire nation, the other state-wide. For a flat monthly rate, an unlimited number of calls can be dialed directly to any place in the country—or the state, depending on which line you use. The Jackson office also had a state-wide WATS line, and at SNCC's permanent headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., there was yet another which extended as far west as Chicago. All three were maintained on a twenty-four-hour basis.

A project worker would telephone news of any "incident" or threat to the Greenwood office, if it occurred in the northwestern quarter of the state known as the delta; to Jackson if elsewhere. When the call came to Greenwood, the WATS line operator there took down the details and notified Jackson, where another WATS operator recorded the story too. When the story was newsworthy, Jackson would notify the newspapers and wire services which had reporters stationed in Mississippi. Several of them helped protect workers by calling jails when that was beyond the line of journalistic duty. Meanwhile, Greenwood was notifying the FBI and Justice Department (John Doar, of the Civil Rights Division, lost a lot of sleep last summer) and telephoning out-of-state newspapers and a volunteer's parents if the situation called for that. Greenwood also used its national line to notify Friends of SNCC groups around the country; sometimes Atlanta did that job for those groups and the press east of Chicago. As further information came in, new rounds of calls were made. On a bad night, the hectic Jackson office at 1017 Lynch Street, and the smaller office in Greenwood looked and sounded as though the stock-market had crashed.

On the other end of the line, the FBI seems to have gone through a sort of cycle of attitudes: indifference and reluctance to act, followed by a period of concern and quick response, and then recently a return to the first attitude. But individual agents varied and sometimes their attitudes changed. On a bloody August night in Jackson, when the shootings and cross-burnings came in such rapid succession that one agent told all the witnesses who were streaming in, "The line forms to the left," I heard James Travis of SNCC plead with another agent for the FBI to come more often, merely as observers. "What's the matter—have you got a chip on your shoulder?" the agent asked. Later he apologized. At Itta Bena, on June 26, the FBI broke with policy by arresting whites for attacking voter-registration workers. Only one thing seemed sure about the FBI: if an endangered volunteer had a parent of power or influence, quick action could be counted on. There was no question of "coming by tomorrow" when Len Edwards, son of the California Congressman, was among those in the bomb-threatened Shaw office.

There were a few projects in rural areas which had no telephone; for them, the two-way radios installed at the end of July had special importance. COFO's radios operated on the Citizen's Band, which has twenty-three frequencies available on a sort of party-line basis. A license was obtained from the FCC within 24 hours of applica-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion instead of the usual six weeks. At the end of August, there were some fifty installations—twenty-five in automobiles, twenty-five on the ground—plus twenty walkie-talkies. This was made possible by one of the parents' committees formed last summer. The committee sent a representative down in July to propose not only these security measures but also scramblers, which frustrate the telephone-tapper, and snooper-scopes, infra-red equipped binoculars which light up the dark. Not to be outdone, some members of the White Citizens Council also stocked up on walkie-talkies and could be seen practicing with them in Greenwood. A more sinister sight was the proliferation of two-way radio antennas on pick-up trucks around the state. Civil rights workers dread the pick-up truck even more than the police car: it is the symbol of the redneck, and often carries no license plate, a tolerated illegality reflecting the links between officials and poor whites.

None of COFO's radio installations on the ground was destroyed by whites, although one irate policeman in Natchez bent the antenna at project headquarters there. (This happened immediately after the bombing of a house next door to the project. The officer in question is reported to have arrived on the scene, shouted "Goddamn, they bombed the wrong house!") But there were lots of minor kinks and problems with the radio system, most of them arising from its limited range and delicate construction. One night in Clarksdale, several workers left in a radio-equipped car for a town 18 miles away. There was no telephone there. When they didn't radio word of their arrival, another car with radio departed from nearby Batesville to search for them. For two hours, the Clarksdale office was like one of those exciting bad movies about airplanes, as tense faces hovered over the humming radio and magical code names filled the air. Some of the Clarksdale people went home because of the town's midnight curfew, while others watched through the curtains as a police car repeatedly circled the building. Finally the news came that the missing group was safe. The next day we learned that they had arrived on time and tried to radio confirmation but couldn't cope with the equipment, gave up, and went to bed. Four people in Clarksdale alone had stayed up until past one in the morning, and it wasn't much fun to run home down dark alleys after curfew praying that the barking dogs wouldn't bring the police onto the scene. But no one would have suggested not waiting to make sure the group was safe.

COFO's other main form of protection and deterrence was legal. Four groups of attorneys, totaling about 150, came to the state, with a remarkable white SNCC field secretary named Hunter Morey coordinating their work from Jackson. To some of the lawyers, Mr. Morey was a brash young man with only half a year of law school behind him. (He does, in fact, look more like that nice boy who delivers the morning paper than a 24-year-old veteran of several civil rights battlefields.) They might have thought twice if they had realized what he had to contend with:

(1) The National Lawyers Guild, with an office in Jackson and bases in Meridian, Greenwood and Hattiesburg. The Guild lawyers were generally acknowledged to be the most gutsy and the most experienced in civil rights cases. Representatives of the National Council of Churches, CORE and the NAACP's legal branch are reported to have refused to work with the Guild in Mississippi because of its left-wing reputation. Peace was eventually established and everyone calmed down except the Red-baiting Mississippi press, which tends to call all civil rights workers Communists anyway.

(2) The Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, established this summer by a group of lawyers from various sources including the American Civil Liberties Union. In general, the LCDC handled cases in areas of the state where the Guild was not operating but there was occasional overlapping both ways. It maintained a Jackson office and additional attorneys were channeled into the state when the need arose, from Memphis, Tenn., and New Orleans, La.

(3) The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, known as "the President's Committee" because it was set up under a Kennedy program. It acted as counsel for the National Council of Churches, which sent about 325 ministers into the state during the summer.

(4) The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., known as "the Inc. Fund." It maintained only one full-time staff member in Jackson but helped establish the LCDC and coordinated with that group.

There was also an unofficial COFO Legal Advisory Committee, including attorneys William Kunstler and Mel Wolf, which initiated several broad suits such as the one against the poll tax. A few distinguished lawyers came to the state on an individual basis. And finally, there was a group of law students who worked with the attorneys and who were supplied by yet another organization, the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council.

If the picture seems confusing, it was—at least to this observer. The actual work of the attorneys is easier to describe, since they—like the fifty-seven doctors who came down—were allowed to practice very little in the state. It consisted mainly of bailing or bonding out arrested volunteers, as well as local Negroes; getting cases removed from a state to federal court (unfortunately, many of these are being remanded to the state court); and acting as observers or advisers. Despite the limitations, the presence of the attorneys definitely had its effects. As Mike Starr, one of the law students, said in Hattiesburg: "The amount of actual legal work we've done could be engraved on the head of a pin. But our mere presence is a real deterrent. With the lawyers here, the chances of a person's being beaten are much less and the chances of getting a person released in his own recognizance instead of by putting up a lot of bail are much better."

He went on the discuss Mississippi's white attorneys, none of whom had been cooperative on any sort of regular basis except a short, slender Jacksonian named Leonard Rosenthal. "His landlord kicked him out of his office, his brother-in-law chased him with a shotgun," Starr said. "But Rosenthal doesn't believe so much in civil rights as in civil liberties."

The Mississippi Negro himself played a role—or rather, several roles—in making the summer relatively unbloody. When volunteers first arrived in the northern town of Batesville, a group of local Negroes with guns stood guard at night—unasked—for the first few weeks. As nothing developed, they stayed home. Guns have stood ready in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Biloxi, too, where a tight little group of armed men used to stop by the project office from time to time and offer protection. Local Negroes have also risked their lives to bring the volunteers word of threatening danger. In one small Delta town, a volunteer's life was probably saved when local boys told him about a conversation among whites drawing up a murder plan. In Shaw, a young man came to the office and reported that he had been made two offers by whites —one of $40, for pointing out the office, and another of $400 for blowing it up.

On the other side of the coin, militant local Negroes have practiced self-restraint to make things easier for the summer workers. Groups of youths in several towns have said that they refrained from extensive testing of the Civil Rights Act during the summer because such testing was not part of COFO's program and could lead to bloodshed. In Greenville, one of them showed off his knife late in the evening at the office there and said with a grin, "You people are okay but I happen to be *non*-nonviolent. We're going to start moving again this fall and no white man is going to push me around." For these older teen-agers, who may of course just be talking tough, the project is admirable but too tame; they have small interest in Freedom School classes in Negro history because they want to make history themselves, and now. Their anger and impatience are understandable. The little testing which was done last summer had almost no effect; whites prevented integration by physical force, closing down, turning restaurants into clubs. The "White" and "Colored" signs are still up in courthouses; even where they are gone, as in Jackson's Trailways bus terminal or its University Hospital, white and Negro still sit in separate waiting areas, still go to separate washrooms.

If the project has not been provocative enough to satisfy some Negroes, there is also a sense in which it was not provocative enough to drive whites to greater violence. The project presented no direct economic threat. What if COFO had organized a plantation strike for the months of September-October, when the cotton is picked? It could not, of course, for several obvious reasons. Boycotting wasn't part of the program either, and when it occurred under local leadership it was not notably successful. In Greenwood, Negro youths would stand outside a store urging potential customers to pass it by. But when they left, their elders went in.

This does not mean that the movement failed to move forward last summer. Instead, it took solid root at last. The Freedom Schools, and the Mississippi Student Union which has largely developed out of them, will be the youthful base of the movement; the new Freedom Democratic Party its adult structure. These, said Bob Moses in late August, were the project's two great achievements. And behind them both is perhaps the most extraordinary phenomenon of the summer: the kids of 8 or 9 who go out to canvass, who practice demonstrating and being arrested and everything else the future holds.

Set against all this is a mood of white rebelliousness whose bounds are unpredictable. But there were signs, as August ended, that a new cycle in the cat-and-mouse game had begun. One of these was the bombing which destroyed the Jackson offices of *The Northside Reporter*, a weekly published by a noted white liberal.

Let no one think that only the crazy redneck is a die-hard segregationist, that most of the authorities now reluctantly but rationally accept Negro equality as inevitable. They are even more stubbornly opposed because they have more to lose: power. These men will evolve new barriers, refortify others, step up economic pressures. My most frightening hour in Mississippi was not on a dark road with a police spotlight suddenly turned on my car, or watching the pick-up truck in my rear-view mirror. It was in the office of a county attorney who chatted politely about the lack of rain. Somewhere in the room, invisible, a time clock loudly clicked off each minute. The attorney didn't bluster against intermarriage or reaffirm God's desire to keep the races separate; in fact, I didn't even ask him his racial views. Then unexpectedly he stopped smiling and said, in a calm voice, "You know, everything I have is in this town—my work, my family, my farm. *I intend to protect them.*" It was a simple little statement, delivered with unmistakable portent and maximum hostility.

FREEDOM MOVES IN

(*Continued from page 105*)

huge black-and-white sign over the doorway with the words "Indianola Freedom School," illustrated by clasped Negro and white hands.

Seventy-five Negro youngsters began attending classes in the afternoon and about thirty adults in the evening. A number of the children returned in the evening to help the adults with literacy training. One of those who come to the Freedom School at night is a woman whose legs are paralyzed; she also cannot move her arms freely. Sitting on her bed at home,

she tells volunteer Fred Winn of how she has heard about the Freedom Democratic Party, and proudly explains why she fully understands it. "I went as far as tenth grade," she smiles. This, in Mississippi, where the average number of years completed by Negroes is six.

"I got polio when I was 6 months old. I worked in the fields for eighteen years—from when I was 13 to when I was 31, I chopped and picked cotton." Fred expresses amazement since she has never walked a step in her life. "I chopped and picked cotton on my knees."

The local students have participated in voter-registration canvassing and have begun to take action to improve their local school. They may join the Ruleville Student Action Group which was formed during the summer, one of many such local organizations which the summer project has encouraged.

Gary DeMoss of Kansas City, a volunteer, speaks with amazement about the Ruleville Negro school:

Whole classes go out and pick

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cotton, though they're never given any accounting where the money goes. A freshman algebra class has seventy-two students, they sit two to a desk, and have only one teacher. Sometimes three and four classes meet at the same time in the gym and the entire library is a couple of incomplete sets of encyclopedias. No typing is taught there and almost every student here at the Freedom School wants to take it.

The Student Action Group has passed out leaflets and sent letters to teachers and school officials demanding a change in these conditions. They and other student groups may stage a state-wide school boycott this fall.

"The teen-agers can take over after we're gone," explained Don Madison of Columbus, Ohio. "The students here catch on very quick and really want to do something. They understand what's going on."

The older people are more easily frightened. In Holly Springs, Dave Kendall of Sheridan, Ind., tells of his experiences in trying to canvass in nearby Tate County:

The sheriff, a deputy, and the constable with a police dog kept following us wherever we went. We would talk to people about registering and when we left the sheriff would call them over and tell them to ignore us . . . and back up his order with all kinds of threats. We kept calling on people and talking to them. But they wouldn't even look at us. They would just look right past us at those cops. Other times they'd see those police sitting there in their cars, taking notes, and they'd slam the door right in our faces.

Four people agreed to go to the Tate County courthouse to take the registration test, but because of threats none went. The barn belonging to one of the four was burned. Two youths who helped Dave and his co-worker, Woody Berry of Dayton, Ohio, fled to Memphis to avoid a threatened lynching. There are 4,326 voting-age Negroes in Tate County; none of them are registered.

But in Panola County, more than 600 Negroes have been registered since the summer project began. In October, 1961, when the Justice Department filed a suit against the registrar, only one Negro was registered; thirty-one more were registered while the suit was going through the courts. Then last May a one-year injunction was handed down. It ordered that the sections of the registration test calling for an interpretation of any of the 285 sections of the state constitution, and a definition of the duties of a citizen, be dropped for one year. Many still are failed for other questionable reasons, but the injunction is the biggest breakthrough in Mississippi, and rights workers are determined to take advantage of it for they are still a long way from getting the county's 7,000 voting-age Negroes registered.

And elsewhere, the young people keep on pushing. A former café has been fixed up—the floor repaired, grease washed off the walls, everything given two coats of paint —to serve as a community center. "A young Negro in his twenties heard about our literacy program and drove 14 miles to our center," explains Margie Hazelton, a short, slim redhead from Detroit. "He said he had gone as far as the third grade but then had to drop out because he had to work for his family. I've been teaching him reading and writing through the Laubach method."

In Greenwood, the Friendship Baptist Church is home for the Freedom School. One of the teachers, Carolyn Egan, a pretty, short-haired blonde from Portland, smiles with hope as she tells of one of her students:

In my math class, my trigonometry student continually is asking for more homework. He's never missed a day of class and is always there on time. He's really eager to learn. He gets up at 5:30 to help canvass for voter registration before people go out to work in the fields; then he comes to the Freedom School. They don't teach trigonometry at the Negro school here. He plans on going to college and we're trying to gather all the information we can on scholarships for Negroes in the South.

In Hattiesburg a Negro woman returning home from work got on the bus. A white woman removed her package from the seat next to her to make room. When a white woman later got on the bus, the driver asked the Negro woman to give up her seat. The woman didn't do or say anything and the driver called a policeman who arrested her. She was charged with breach of the peace and interfering with an officer. All the Negroes left the bus in protest.

At a city precinct meeting organized with the help of the summer workers, the occurrence was discussed. Several mentioned a limited boycott of buses. A mass meeting had been scheduled for the next night and it was decided to go further into the situation then.

These people, these situations, cannot be left behind, most of the summer workers feel. Some give the workers new hope; others make them more determined. In either case, they point to the need for continuing the work of the summer. About one-fourth of the volunteers plan to stay. At least as many more plan to return, some next summer, others as soon as early next year. To some an even stronger reason for staying is that the community has become a part of their life, has become their home. And they expect new groups of volunteers to join them.

As Woody Berry explained in Holly Springs:

Negro people here are happy that we're here. They feed us, take care of us, protect us. When Hardy Frye, a volunteer from Sacramento, was arrested he wasn't permitted to make a phone call, but we knew what had happened in minutes. A Negro man saw him get arrested and jumped into his truck and came right to our office and told us.

Mississippi, with a total population of slightly more than 2 million, is extremely rural, and almost everywhere strong community feelings exist. It is easy to become a part of the Negro community within a few days of active work with its people.

Twenty-five workers found this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be especially true in Mileston, project headquarters for Holmes County. Mileston is not shown on most maps; driving down U.S. Highway 49E from Greenwood to Jackson, all you see is a sign, a short-order café and store, and a small train station along two tracks where the Illinois Central hasn't stopped in years. A few miles south of Tchula, Mileston is a community of 120 to 150 Negro families who have owned their own land since 1939. That was when the plantations went bankrupt and the federal government gave the workers a chance to homestead the land. Few of the Negro homes have running water and in some the conditions are shocking. A seasoned voter-registration worker, out canvassing one day, found a family living in a windowless shack. A little light and a lot of flies—and in the winter probably a lot of cold—came in through chinks in the walls. Both husband and wife, often ill, could seldom work, and there were no welfare payments. In the shadows huddled three children, their eyes puffy and running with pus. The boy's stomach was swollen from malnutrition. On the bed lay a young baby crying. He had been born blind.

Across the tracks is a narrow dirt and gravel road with small, identical homes, run-down barns built for mules and no longer needed, and fields of cotton and soy beans. Whites are seldom seen down this road in Mileston except for the civil rights workers who stay with some of the Negro families living along the road.

"You're so isolated here," explained volunteer Gene Nelson of Evanston, Ill., "that you can easily forget about the rest of the world. You can even forget about the rest of the county you're working in."

Down a couple of miles is a side road with two houses at its end. One serves as a community center, the other as the Freedom House where several volunteers live. Beyond the houses is a field of cotton. On the other three sides are thin woods.

This area of Mileston is home for the volunteers and headquarters for Holmes County activities. The voter-registration workers leave it to canvass during the day, but the others stay here to teach at the Freedom School which meets at a church along the road, to help build a new community center which is going up next to the church, or to help children in arts and crafts and recreation at the temporary community center. The phone they use is in one of the homes, as is their main Citizens Band radio transmitter. Occasionally they may go out to the highway store for a hamburger or a bottle of pop. But they live and eat with the families here, and sit and talk with them as members of the family. "They're like my own children," one of the hosts said to me.

The fears of the Negro families have become the fears of the volunteers. All share in the tension. They know well local leader Hartman Turnbow's story of how in the spring of last year he tried to register, of how his home was burned two weeks later, and of how he, himself, was arrested and charged with arson. They were there when a dynamite bomb was tossed into another Negro's home. They saw where it had landed on his young daughter's bed, failing to go off. Two of them had been beaten by local whites. Another, when canvassing, listened to a Negro minister who told how two deputy policemen in plain clothes forced him into their car at gun point and threatened to kill him. The volunteers know that one of the two had, without apparent reason, killed a Negro boy the previous summer. At the new community center they can still see the hole in the ground where there was a bombing in mid-July. And every time they drive down the road they can see the burned-out hulk of a SNCC project car that was fire-bombed a week later. They know too that out of more than 8,000 voting-age Negroes in the county only forty-one are registered.

At night, it is too dangerous to venture far from their little community. They work at the Freedom House and temporary center, or sit talking to people on darkened porches along the road. They sit and talk while their hosts keep a shotgun nearby, waiting for those who may toss the next bomb or fire the next shots into their homes. Occasionally a car comes down the road, and the crunching of tires on gravel fills the air. Voices quiet, hands reach for shotguns; in the tense stillness everyone is joined more closely together. Then the car signals, and all relax and begin to talk again. Volunteers cannot desert this community; if there is any change in Mileston it will be one of increased activity. And this seems to be the pattern throughout the state.

The Warren Commission . . . Maurice Rosenberg

Soon the select commission probing the assassination of John F. Kennedy will deliver its findings to the world and to history. One inevitable result when the Warren Commission's report comes in will be to evoke anew the heavy flavor of irony which has tinged the tragedy from the start. In part, that is to be expected, for it is the habit of terrible events to reveal one bitter twist after another as their details unfold. Unhappily, in its quest for "truth," the Warren Commission itself seems destined to compound the irony, even though its purpose is high and its members honorable.

A week after John F. Kennedy was shot dead in the Dallas motorcade, his successor named the special commission to study the assassination and report back its conclusions. The key instruction from President Johnson was that the commission "satisfy itself that the truth is known so far as it can be discovered." To assure the whole world that the commission's report would carry the utmost authority, responsibility and credibility, the Chief Justice of the United States was made head of the group and it was rounded out by six other distinguished men from public life.

There was no mystery about what the new President meant or wanted when he charged the commission to bring back "the truth." The shots that killed Kennedy had ricocheted around the world, raising deep fears and doubts. A public-opinion poll taken at about the time the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mission was named reported that a majority of the American people believed that some group or element had worked with the presumed assassin. Many other people reported themselves uncertain as to what to believe. Abroad, there was disquiet and foreboding over the possibility that the act was a step in a right-wing *Putsch*. President Johnson wanted to still the fears and doubts for all time by obtaining indisputable facts about what had happened in Dallas on November 22, 1963, in the days that led up to it, and in the few days following. He wanted the commission to write a report that schoolboys would read as truth in their history books, accepting it forever after as the authentic account of the most calamitous American death since Lincoln's.

And so the Warren Commission began life as the servant of history, dedicated to recording the historical truth about the people and deeds that intersected on November 22-24, 1963, in Dallas, Texas. This was not an event that needed the perspective of time; history in this case could be served up piping hot, for nothing was wanted except the blunt, simple truth about a relatively few stark questions: Did Lee Harvey Oswald kill John F. Kennedy? Did he act alone or were there confederates? Was the assassination a product of political motivation? Was there a plot or conspiracy? When Jack Ruby killed Oswald, was it a mad act of isolated malevolence or again part of a plot?

At the start, the commission thought it had only to "investigate" to establish the truth about those questions. Then coming generations of schoolboys would know the name of the man who shot John F. Kennedy as certainly as they knew that Booth had killed Lincoln.

The lawyers on the commission and its staff must have reflected that this time, at least, truth was going to be an uncomplicated business. Their job of truth-finding, as they first viewed it, had a plain definition and a vivid model. By building on the FBI's work, and by amassing more photographs, taking more statements, and sifting all the proof, they were to reconstruct the events of November 22 until the picture of what had occurred on that day emerged as clear as the television image of Jack Ruby shooting Lee Oswald. Cameras do not deal in legal judgments and neither would the commission's report.

Regarding the manner as well as the object of the probe, the commission was entirely clear at the start: it was to be an *investigation*, not a *trial*. There was no problem of protecting the rights of any person living or dead, for the commission was unconcerned with accusing or with finding anyone "guilty." In short, there was no call to bring in the elaborate trappings of a jury trial, or the clash of adversary lawyers, or the punctilious legal rules about presumed innocence, improper evidence, confrontation or cross-examination. The commission was to record, in words and retroactively, the truth that a stereophonic sound camera would have reported if it had followed the moves of the President and his killer up to their fatal convergence.

Under its "investigation" concept, the commission had no trouble at all in dealing with the New York lawyer, Mark Lane, when he came forward early in the inquiry with an offer to "protect" the interests of Lee Oswald—presumably, as a trial advocate would. There could be no intention to appoint a lawyer to act on Oswald's behalf, since, as was pointed out by chief counsel J. Lee Rankin: "The commission is not engaged in determining the guilt of anybody. It is a fact-finding body."

Mr. Rankin made that statement on January 10. A few weeks later, in early February, the Warren Commission took the testimony of Oswald's widow as the first witness, followed by testimony from his mother and brother. Then suddenly, on February 24, the commission did a turnabout and appointed lawyer Walter E. Craig of Phoenix, Arizona, the president of the American Bar Association and a designee for the federal district bench, as an "independent lawyer" to protect Oswald's interests.

Mark Lane now protested that Mr. Rankin had written him on January 23:

> *. . . the commission does not believe that it would be useful or desirable to permit an attorney representing Lee Harvey Oswald to have access to the investigatory materials within the possession of the commission or to participate in any hearings to be conducted by the commission.*

Lane also said that in a personal conversation the Chief Justice had told him that "Oswald was not on trial and . . . counsel would not be permitted to represent him." Whether or not the Lane version is completely accurate, there is no doubt that the decision to appoint a lawyer to protect Oswald's interests signaled a drastic change of view by the commission. It must also be true that the shift came in response to some very powerful force, for it was a serious matter for the commission to alter its position after weeks of investigations.

Mr. Craig himself played down the partisan quality of his representation by issuing a statement on March 18, in which he denied he was Oswald's legal protector in the probe. "We are representing the interests of the American people," he said, rather than Lee Oswald's.

Maurice Rosenberg, professor of law at Columbia University, was director of the Columbia University Project for Effective Justice (1956-64). Submitting his piece, Mr. Rosenberg noted that it falls into the dilemma it poses, for it must make assumptions about Lee Harvey Oswald's part in the assassination which can never be decided in a court of law. In a later issue, Herbert Packer, of the Stanford University law faculty, will analyze the substance of the Warren report.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harry Moss

Lee Harvey Oswald

He added that his function was to "review" the commission's actions against the possibility of error. Despite Mr. Craig's disclaimer—which may have been prompted in part by sensitivity to his ambiguous role as chief pursuer of Melvin Belli for outbursts in connection with Belli's ill-starred efforts to defend Jack Ruby—the record is clear that the commission did a partial if not a full somersault on the question. The intriguing question is: Why?

The answer is *not* that the commission changed its purpose from neutral probing to prosecuting. Rather, in my opinion, the force that caused the reversal was the subtle but potent pressure of the tradition of adversary trial and due process on the commission's conscience. For the tradition that certain decencies are due a man before he is convicted of crime, even implied or indirectly, is deeply ingrained in American thought. The eminent lawyers who man the commission and its staff are particularly sensitive to the tradition, for they were well schooled in it. As dozens of witnesses took the stand, and as the evidence pointing to Oswald's responsibility mounted higher and higher, the lawyers must have become increasingly aware that "truth" was emerging in a way that to them was at once unaccustomed and uncomfortable. They may well have asked themselves: "Shouldn't there be an advocate for Oswald's innocence? Might he not be able to shake a damaging witness by a searching cross-examination?" Certainly the staff could not be expected to wield the cudgels for Oswald at the same time that it was busy interrogating potential witnesses, checking their statements, and deciding whether to use them as proof. The commission members could not forsake their places as judges in order to object to improper evidence or to try to punch holes in a witness's story. One day last February there must have been a deep, resigned sigh around the commission's table as the idea took hold that the truth was not to be a simple matter after all; that not only had the inquiry turned up some bits and pieces that didn't quite fit, but that no pieces would really fit unless the commission shifted its course away from investigation and closer to trial.

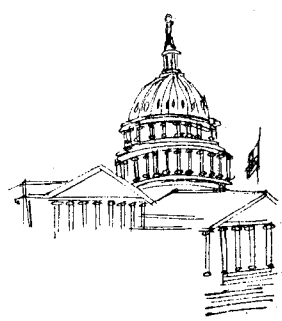
Perhaps in February the commission came to believe that world-wide concern over the assassination would best be quieted if, as Dean Eugene Rostow of the Yale Law School said, the commission's hearings were conducted "as nearly as possible in the familiar pattern of a trial." This would mean modifying the commission's approach to searching for "legal truth" instead of for historical truth. The shift was a major one.

The truth the law seeks and that lawyers battle for in the courtroom is a very different thing from the reporter's idea of truth. Newsmen try to recapture and record the information that would be reported by an all-seeing, all-hearing witness of events. The law would like if it could to recapture "truth" in that basic sense, but it wants more. In a criminal case it wants to protect the accused in a variety of ways, some of which are constitutional imperatives and others of which are merely well-established common-law procedures. Unlike the camera, the law recognizes diverse social values, some of which it at times regards as more important than getting the naked truth. That is why it does not compel the accused to testify. That is why it bars confessions if they are tainted by force or coercion.

The Warren Commission may have thought at the beginning that it could avoid grappling with these other values and social interests of the law if it resolved that it was not bent on accusing anyone or seeking to prove anyone guilty. However, it soon became apparent that the whole venture was instinct with accusation, try as one might to be neutral, impartial or merely "fact-finding." As the inquiry went on, the commission realized that the dividing line between fact-finding and accusation was nonexistent when the facts alone might both accuse and pronounce guilt. With that realization, it seems, came the decision to appoint Walter Craig as "independent" counsel to protect Oswald's interests. And so came the shift in direction—from the search for investigator's truth to the search for courtroom truth.

To President Johnson the commission might now say it had come to recognize that there might be essential unfairness in trying to write the truth for the schoolboys' history books without observing the legal rules and safeguards for getting truth. At the same time the members of the commission were aware that in this case legal truth is forever beyond reach. Jack Ruby arranged that when he gunned Lee Oswald down.

The great irony which the Warren Commission's report appears destined to add to the Dallas tragedy is that President Johnson's command to his eminent appointees—root out the "truth" about Kennedy's assassination—became in essence impossible five days before he appointed them. It became impossible when Oswald was killed, for a trial is imperative before guilt for murder can be clamped on a man; and a dead man cannot be made to stand trial. Yes, there can be an *Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy,* as the FBI entitled one of the five volumes it delivered to the Warren Commission last December. But the commissioners seem to have found that under American traditions "investigation" by them cannot serve as a satisfactory predicate for pinning guilt on even the most wretched of men. Ruby's trigger finger robbed Oswald of life—and history of justice and truth.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cuba: Our Cold-Shoulder Policy ... Richard A. Falk

Fidel Castro has recently proposed that the United States and Cuba negotiate their differences with the view to restoring normal relations between the two countries. The U.S. has now, as it has in the past, spurned Castro's offer, and has indicated in no uncertain terms that it is unwilling to work toward a peaceful settlement on any basis as long as the present regime stays in power. Instead of expressing a willingness to enter negotiations, the U.S. has been devoting its energy to intensifying diplomatic and economic pressure upon the Cuban Government.

Article 2(3) of the United Nations Charter requires that "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." And Article 2(4) adds that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." In various international settings the U. S. has been a staunch advocate of adherence to these Charter principles as indispensable for the maintenance of minimum world order in the nuclear age.

How, then, can one account for American insistence on the technique of coercive settlement in the case of Cuba? The question is vexing in the face of our refusal to respond favorably to Castro's offer to negotiate. And it is especially so because Castro went out of his way in an extensive interview with Richard Eder of *The New York Times* to develop his proposal for negotiations in a form—one would have supposed—that would be pleasing to the U.S. First, Castro agreed to withhold support from Latin American revolutionary movements in exchange for an assurance that anti-Cuban subversive activity would be suppressed throughout the hemisphere. Eder reported that Castro "did not exclude the use of some international means to supervise such a joint commitment, although his personal view was that this would not be necessary." Second, he was reported willing to release political prisoners once normalization of relations with the U. S. was achieved. Third, he indicated an intention to introduce constitutional government in Cuba no later than January 1, 1969. Fourth, he disclosed a willingness to discuss compensation for property confiscated from American investors. And fifth, as a tangible gesture of conciliation, Castro announced that Cuban guards would be pulled back several hundred yards from the Guantanamo Naval Base.

This offer to negotiate was reinforced by Raul Castro in a news conference held on July 21. At that time the Premier's brother said that Cuba would no longer insist upon the basic conditions for negotiation that had been laid down by Fidel Castro on October 28, 1962, in the midst of the missile crisis: ending the economic boycott, halting "pirate attacks" from the U. S. and Puerto Rico, ceasing violations of Cuban air space by reconnaissance overflights, and withdrawal by the U. S. from the Guantanamo base. Dropping these conditions is further evidence of Cuba's present willingness to establish a satisfactory framework for negotiations.

The official U. S. response has been minimal, exhibiting nothing more positive than suspicion or lack of interest. No one in Washington is willing to take the risk that Castro might be serious, because that might lead to disaster: a peaceful settlement of our differences with the Cuban Government.

Consider, first, President Johnson's enthusiasm for Cuban-American negotiations as it was expressed in a news conference held a few days after Castro's interview with Eder:

Q: *Mr. President, Premier Castro has recently had a long interview in which he is offering to negotiate peace with the United States. What is your attitude, or response to that?*

A: *I have seen newspaper reports purporting to reflect his attitude. I am much more interested in the deeds than the words, and I shall carefully watch for any actions or any deeds that would carry into effect the actions that I think would be in the best interest of Cuba and the people of the world. I am much more interested in deeds than in words.*

This is all the President of the United States has ever said on the subject. It may be that it is beneath the dignity of the U. S. to take seriously a proposal that is communicated in the form of a newspaper interview. It should be realized, however, that no normal diplomatic contact exists between the two countries. In addition, it opened a door to the U. S. to suggest a more formal approach.

What can President Johnson have meant by his call for deeds instead of words? Why does not a simple offer to negotiate suffice? After all, our dispute with Cuba has on several occasions endangered international peace, and it continues to produce friction and bitterness that interfere with the effort to keep the cold war under control. It would seem to be in our interest to explore Castro's offer, at least to the extent of ascertaining his good faith. It therefore seems inappropriate to expect Castro to do more to set the stage for negotiations than to indicate a willingness to settle all of the issues in genuine controversy.

Yet Castro has done more. The long Eder interview suggesting the negotiations indicated a willingness to alter Cuban society in a direction that is responsive to U. S. wishes. For example, there was the promise to restore constitutionalism, to release political prisoners and to halt the export of subversion. Furthermore, Castro moved Cuban guards away from the fence at Guantanamo to reduce the prospect of provocative incidents. Can President Johnson expect more in the way of preliminary deeds? As a minimum, some specification of what Castro must do as a prerequisite to negotiations would have been desirable. It is important to realize that the discussion is about what must be done to negotiate differences, rather than about what must be done in order to have a resumption of friendly relations.

Max Frankel observed that the President's response to Cuba's offer followed "the Administration's practice of not even suggesting the possibility of an arrangement with the Castro Government." In general terms, officials have called upon

---

Richard A. Falk, author of Law, Morality and War in the Contemporary World *(Praeger), is on the faculty of Princeton University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Castro to halt aid to foreign revolutionary movements in Latin America and to cut ties with Communist countries. Dean Rusk is reported to have expressed doubt whether the Castro government could survive if it lost the support of Soviet aid and trade. Thus the demand that Cuba renounce its relationship with the Soviets is tantamount to demanding that the Castro regime commit suicide so as to demonstrate its good faith. It is evident that the U. S. intends to set a premium on initiation of negotiations that far exceeds Cuba's capacity to pay. That is one way to express the thinly veiled U. S. policy of being uninterested in normal relations with Cuba as long as Castro remains in power. The U. S. insists that peace is possible only after the removal of the existing regime. This is power politics in its most blatant form; it offends basic ideas of national independence and it implies a highly interventionary set of objectives.

Lesser State Department spokesmen depreciated Castro's proposal as a propaganda move, designed to discourage the OAS from voting sanctions against Cuba at the Ninth Consultative Meeting of American Foreign Ministers, held in Washington in July. As is now well known, the Latin American foreign ministers did pass a sanctions resolution at that meeting condemning Cuba for smuggling arms to pro-Communist rebels in Venezuela in 1963. No official mention of Castro's overtures was made at the meeting, nor was any examination made of whether Castro had valid provocation for taking action against Venezuela. The sanctions imposed require OAS members to cease diplomatic and consular relations with the Cuban Government, and to suspend trade and sea transportation to Cuba. The last two obligations may be moderated for humanitarian considerations. The sanctions remain in effect until "an affirmative vote of two-thirds" of the OAS Council authorizes their discontinuance "at such time as the Government of Cuba shall have ceased to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the continent."

No further guidance is given as to how Cuba might prove that it is no longer a danger. One would suppose that Castro's outline of a negotiating position on the subversion issue, made well in advance of the foreign ministers' meeting, satisfied legitimate hemispheric needs: a reciprocal agreement to halt aid to subversive movements, together with an apparatus to assure compliance. What greater contribution to the goal of restoring peaceful, non-coercive relations to Latin America can be expected from Castro? It is also consistently unfair to examine Castro's support for revolutions abroad without considering what those countries are doing (or not doing) to regulate Cuban exiles at work to achieve the violent overthrow of Castro. It may be true that Cuba has no better defense against counterrevolutionary terror spread from hostile foreign states than to help groups more sympathetic to it to seize power. Castro has often and rightly insisted that regulating the export of violence is a two-way proposition. The U. S. and the OAS have, in contrast, always condemned Castro's support of foreign revolutions as an isolated phenomenon, completely separable from the activities of Cuban exile groups.

It is, indeed, rather surprising that Castro, after being condemned at the OAS meeting, has been willing to renew his offer to begin negotiations to improve Cuban relations with the U. S. Whatever else, it is no longer possible to discount this conciliatory posture as an effort to head off OAS sanctions!

Let us suppose, though, that Castro's main motive is to persuade the U. S. to take the pressure off. Is this an unworthy objective? If Castro is prepared to live at peace in the hemisphere, why are we refusing to test the seriousness of his negotiating initiative? Why do we prefer a coercive foreign policy in contravention to our more general duty under the United Nations to seek peaceful settlements of international disputes? How can we account for this implacable hostility of our government to negotiate a settlement with Castro?

Part of the explanation is, of course, embedded in U. S. domestic politics. Senator Goldwater's nomination emphasizes this. President Johnson seeks re-election. And one might reasonably argue that anything that weakens this prospect is better postponed until after November. American public opinion seems overwhelmingly hostile to Castro. Any effort to improve relations as long as Castro remains in power would probably be viewed with widespread disfavor; hostile public attitudes are difficult to reverse. The start of negotiations with Cuba—however exaggerated our negotiating demands—would tend to compromise the purity of U. S. opposition to Castro, and would be likely to undermine the morale of the various exile groups operating in the U. S. and elsewhere in the hemisphere. If this analysis is correct, it tends to make the U. S. Government a prisoner, temporarily at least, of a foreign policy that is both illegal and futile. U. S. sponsorship of OAS coercion, tolerance of exile groups, U-2 overflights, and imposition of the economic boycott are continuations, although in much diluted form, of the policies of coercion and intimidation that culminated in the 1961 fiasco at the Bay of Pigs. It is ironic that a superstate like the United States should find itself so foolishly trapped in the course of a conflict with its minuscule neighbor to the south. And although the fact that this is an election year, with a reactionary challenger in the saddle, may partially account for the present rigidity of U.S. attitudes toward Cuba, it would seem that the inflexibility of the U. S. position reflects more fundamental, even though not more acceptable, considerations.

Among the most important of these considerations is the legacy of the dominance exercised by the U. S. over Latin American affairs during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The U. S. asserted the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, and claimed under it the right to exclude nonhemispheric states from extending their influence to the Americas. Despite the repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine and the enthronement of the principle of nonintervention from 1933 onwards, in the era of the Good Neighbor Policy, there remained in the U. S. a hegemonial attitude toward events in the hemisphere. No outside or competing influence of any magnitude can be or has been tolerated. The Communist movement, triumphant in the Soviet Union and China, presents all countries, including those in Latin America, with a real alternative to U. S. hegemony. As such, the Communist system must not be allowed a foothold in Latin America even if the exclusion of communism requires conduct that violates the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

postulates of peaceful coexistence that are operative in our policy throughout most of the rest of the world — operative at least to the extent of recognizing the legitimacy of a Communist-aligned government if it behaves properly in its external relations. Such a hegemonial outlook is expressed by our insistence that the downfall of Castro is the only outcome acceptable to the U. S.

One can find support for this hypothesis of hegemonial exclusivity in recent Latin American diplomatic history. The first indication of the U. S. position was in 1954, at Caracas, in response to the emergence of a leftist government headed by Arbenz in Guatemala. It was at this time that Secretary of State Dulles persuaded the Tenth Inter-American Conference to adopt a declaration stating that ". . . the domination or control of the political institutions of an American state by the international Communist movement . . . would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and independence of the American states, endangering the peace of the Americas and would call for a meeting of consultation to consider the adoption of measures in accordance with existing treaties." In effect, this was construed to mean that the emergence of a government characterized as "Communist" was a fit occasion for collective coercive action by the OAS to bring about its downfall. The Caracas Declaration was followed shortly by the successful, if covert, U. S. intervention in Guatemala against the Arbenz government and its prompt replacement by the rightist regime of Castillo Armas. The U. S., despite a vigorous Soviet protest, was able to frustrate the attempt by Arbenz to bring Guatemala's complaint of aggression before the Security Council. Although the Soviet Union vetoed a Brazilian-Colombian proposal to refer the Guatemalan complaint to the OAS, the rapid success of the Armas uprising led to the mooting of Guatemala's complaint, but not before several important precedents were set.

First, the U. S. was more or less successful in its attempt to persuade the majority of the OAS that a right to resist a Communist-oriented government existed as an exception to the nonintervention principle; in effect, a regionalized Monroe Doctrine was created to combat

Catherine Merrill

Communist infiltration. Second, the U. S. could act *unilaterally* under the principles of the Caracas Declaration and be assured of the passive backing of a majority of OAS members. And third, the state that found itself the target of such interventionary pressures could not get an effective hearing before the political organs of the UN. Its complaint would be cut off at the regional level.

These observations are pertinent to the evolution of U. S.-Cuban relations. The U. S. acted more or less unilaterally at the Bay of Pigs, and the UN was prevented from exercising control over this serious breach of the peace—an armed attack against a member mounted with support, training and equipment provided by another member.

Later at Punta del Este in January, 1962, the Eighth Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs adopted a resolution under prodding from the U. S., "that the present Government of Cuba, which has officially identified itself as a Marxist-Leninist government, is incompatible with the principles and objectives of the inter-American system." The resolution went on to say that "this incompatibility excludes the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system." It is the form of government, rather than objectionable behavior, that is given as the root cause of Cuba's "incompatibility." Note that the Incompatibility Doctrine is not made to depend upon any extrahemispheric interference by the Soviet Union or other Communist states.

The background of Castro's rise to power is also relevant. It has never been seriously contended that Castro gained control of Cuba as a consequence of foreign intervention, whether Soviet or other. Rather, it has been generally accepted that Castro's victory was a consequence of a favorable balance of forces in as domestic a revolutionary struggle as is possible in the modern world. Subsequent events are both complicated and notorious, dominated as they are by steady deterioration of U. S.-Cuban relations and by the communization of both internal and external Cuban

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policies. One must realize that a sovereign state is traditionally regarded by international law as competent to choose its allies without interference, and to make whatever bilateral defense arrangements it wishes. There is nothing more persuasive than the repudiated practice under the Monroe Doctrine and the rather dubious claims of the Caracas Declaration and Punta del Este Resolution upon which to object to a Cuban-Soviet alignment, or the adoption of a Marxist-Leninist orientation by the Cuban Government.

Let us return now to the U. S. refusal to negotiate with Castro. At stake is, of course, the reasonableness of the U. S. demand that Cuba abandon Marxism-Leninism (whatever abandonment would entail beyond a humiliating statement to this effect by the Cubans) and renounce the aid and support of the Soviet Union. Obviously Castro is unwilling and unable to comply, and has said so repeatedly. Castro's position is that negotiations are appropriate to eliminate the specific grievances between the countries, but must be carried on within a framework of basic respect for the governmental form and foreign policy of both states. Given contradictory U. S. demands, negotiations might become fruitless exercises in frustrations and are easily susceptible of misunderstanding.

Can the U. S. position find any justification? Does a regional organization have authority to proscribe certain forms of government and extraregional relationship for states within the region? Are regional dissenters, such as Cuba, not protected against coercion by the guarantees written into the UN Charter? If Cuba can be exorcised for Marxism-Leninism, cannot the Arab League, with equivalent validity, exorcise Israel for the practice of Zionism? These questions point up some of the dangers that lurk beneath the OAS contention, so vigorously supported by the U. S., that a regional organization is entitled to oppose with force the emergence of certain forms of government in any member state. Presumably, the U. S. is not prepared to contend that Cuba's form of government is incompatible with its participation in the UN. Is there any evidence to support a claim that the global system tolerates regional sub-systems, each of which is entitled to undertake the coercive elimination of a government that is offensive to regional, but not to global, values? The Republic of South Africa is a counter example; the internal government is incompatible with both regional and global values. But consider how reluctant the U. S. has been to authorize members of the UN to impose sanctions upon South Africa that are less coercive than those it unilaterally carries out against Cuba. Our belligerence vis-à-vis Cuba is wildly inconsistent with our eloquent pleas to other disputants throughout the world to enter upon peaceful negotiations as an essential alternative to violence in the nuclear age. Must we not practice in the Americas what we preach to the Asians and Africans?

A more tenable argument in support of our position would rest the case upon the disruptive quality of Cuban conduct. The OAS sanctions voted in July in Washington were supposed to be a response to a verified Venezuelan complaint that Cuba had smuggled arms to Venezuelan terrorists in the fall of 1963 to stir up trouble prior to the elections there. There is considerable evidence that Castro has given various kinds of nontrivial support to insurrectionary groups throughout the hemisphere. However, recent evidence suggests a falling off of Castro's efforts to export revolution. Furthermore, the internal security systems of most Latin American countries have been strengthened to a point where they can deal with subversive activity. Even in Venezuela the evident consequence of Castro's efforts was to diminish, not enhance, the prospects of a revolutionary take-over. And finally, Castro has offered to halt further support for subversive activities in exchange for a reciprocal pledge to suppress anti-Castro exile activities. Castro has consistently put his proposal in terms of mutual adherence to a common set of international norms. The U. S. and several Central American states have been most hospitable to Cuban exile groups whose avowed objective is the violent overthrow of the Castro government. Castro, too, is genuinely haunted by the specter of indirect aggression. How can we give aid and comfort to these groups and, at the same time, complain about Castro's efforts to export revolution? Either there are common rules of the game or there are not. Mutuality of nonadherence suspends rights and duties on *both* sides. It seems reasonable to accept Castro's proposal to commence a new period by adopting mutual standards. In this regard, effective agreements not to foment violence abroad would constitute a real contribution to hemispheric peace and stability without necessarily crippling domestic protest movements. At least Castro seems prepared to negotiate as much as we can reasonably request. Given this readiness, and given our own support of anti-Castro subversive activity, there seems to be no legitimate basis for sanctioning action against Castro.

If one considers other U. S. grievances, the rationale for sanctions at this stage does not improve. Castro has offered to negotiate on the issue of compensating expropriated foreign investors. In any event, a breach of economic obligations does not authorize a coercive response under the rules laid down by the Charter. The suppression of human rights in Cuba does not seem especially severe, given the external pressure placed upon the country and the almost inevitable internal opposition of those groups that suffered most from the radical Socialist program Castro has put into practice. It seems relevant to note that we are untroubled about our relations with other Latin American countries that have poor records when it comes to human rights. Haiti is an example. The Johnson Administration finds it increasingly possible to accept friendly relations with "Papa Doc's" notorious regime, although it is based on terrorism and corruption of a scale that far exceeds whatever exists in Cuba.

Before condemning Castro, it might be helpful to recall the unseemly manner in which American citizens of Japanese descent were herded into "relocation centers" at the start of World War II. Democratic liberties rarely flourish under conditions of domestic crisis. The reality of the Cuban crisis is amply proved by the long record of U. S. bellicosity, extending into the present in the form of the symbolic intrusions of the U-2 overflights, and the continuing use of U. S. territory as a base for exile fund-raising, training and attack-mounting. Here, again, Castro's proposal to negotiate includes an offer to release politi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal prisoners once Cuba's relations with the U. S. are normal. And this seems to be as reasonable a position as we are entitled to expect.

There is, I think, a more plausible, if not more acceptable, explanation of the present immobile U. S. position on Cuba. It consists of manipulating the situation to conform with our broader foreign-policy objectives. First, it is in our interests to make sure that radical socialism does not succeed in Cuba and thereby provide an example to other Latin American states beleaguered in a semi-feudal, semi-modern, political condition. The economic and political pressure exerted on Castro, even if only partially successful, is certain to slow down the rate of Cuban economic and social development. This allows moderate groups elsewhere in Latin America to allege that radical socialism is not well suited to solve the problems of the Western Hemisphere.

Secondly, maintenance of an economic boycott on Cuban trade raises the costs of Soviet participation in hemispheric affairs. This diverts Soviet resources and, more important, it makes the Soviet Union more conscious of the adverse consequences of risk-taking in Latin American politics. The point is that if Soviet support for Castro is made expensive and dangerous enough, then the Soviet leadership may be more reluctant to get involved in other Latin American situations.

Under Secretary of State George W. Ball made these objectives very clear in a speech that was delivered last spring to the Omicron Delta Kappa Society in Roanoke, Va., and later given wide circulation by the State Department. In the course of defending U. S. policies toward Cuba, especially what he felicitously referred to as the "program of economic denial," Ball said that there was little expectation that the program "is likely *by itself* to bring down the present Cuban regime." Instead, the objectives are more limited: "First—and most important—to demonstrate to the peoples of the American Republics that Communism has no future in the Western Hemisphere." Second, to show the Cuban people that the present regime cannot serve their interests. Third, to deter Cuba from exporting subversion. And fourth, "to increase the cost to the Soviet Union of maintaining a Communist outpost in the Western hemisphere."

Ball nowhere justified this coercion in the light of the Charter principles or the broader U. S. concern with maintaining world peace. And there is no attempt made to suggest steps toward a settlement of our dispute with Cuba. On the contrary, Ball summarily dismisses the prospects for serious negotiations with the Castro government.

In a sense, Ball's speech seems to have been an Administration reply to Senator Fulbright's outspoken words of last March on myth and reality in U. S. foreign policy. It will be recalled that Fulbright had said: "I think we are bound to conclude that Castro is a nuisance but not a grave threat to the United States and that he cannot be gotten rid of except by means wholly disproportionate to the objective." Ball pointed out that our policy was improperly assessed, if its objective was thought to be to bring about Castro's downfall. According to Ball the U. S. is not faced with a choice between tolerating Castro and overthrowing him. There are the several objectives intermediate between these extremes listed in the Roanoke speech. Senator Fulbright is wrong, I think, to suggest that U. S. policy is based upon "the myth that Cuban communism is a transitory menace that is going to collapse or disappear in the immediate future." First, our action is not primarily seeking its disappearance. Second, there is no illusion about its transitoriness. And third, there is rather little belief in sophisticated circles that Castro is a menace that must be gotten rid of at all costs.

Senator Fulbright's arrows thus go astray. The most serious criticism of our Cuban policy involves its refusal to abide by the minimum rules of world order that it has done so much to champion. Two cardinal principles are involved: (1) the willingness to negotiate international disputes; (2) adherence to the pledge to refrain from using force or its threat to resolve disputes.

Not too long ago Adlai Stevenson uttered these words during a General Assembly debate on the use of force to decolonialize Angola:

> *If anyone in our world feels that his case is special or so unique that international procedures can be ignored and obstacles crushed by military force, let him consider the risks. Can exceptions be made from standards of conduct we have all accepted without risking that they will be followed in other cases? Can anyone believe that the use of force can be prohibited in certain types of national disputes if it is allowed in others? In our interdependent world what is done in one place, however remote, reverberates around the globe, and the implications grow as they travel. No longer is it possible to rely on conflicts being localized. If one of us takes the law into his own hands he may force the hand of others who also feel that they have special cause.*

Cuban Ambassador Incháustegui has already had occasion to effectively quote to the U. S. these brave and persuasive words in the course of a Security Council debate on Cuban-American relations.

We are left in a situation dominated by a contradiction. The logic of world order in the nuclear age requires that we come to terms with Castro. A first step toward this objective would be to respond favorably to Castro's recent proposal to commence serious negotiations. On the other hand, U. S. public and elite opinion seems dogmatically opposed to any change now. In the climate of truculent opinion, it would be highly unpopular even to entertain the idea of negotiations leading to normalcy. It is unreasonable to expect President Johnson to assume such a political risk in the face of the Goldwater challenge. The best one can hope for at this stage is a new look at the situation after November—especially in the event of a Democratic victory by a comfortable margin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Childhood of a Leader

THE WORDS. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated from the French by Bernard Frechtman. George Braziller. 255 pp. $5.

George Elliott

In *The Words*, Sartre sets out to answer in autobiographical form the second most difficult question he could ask himself. *Why have I been insincere?*

First of all, the narrative problem is severe. How is a writer to keep his reader interested in a story—and an autobiography is primarily a story—when the central character is a nonperson, a child who is a blob of unrealized humanity? Sartre handles this difficulty in a number of ways. He employs the mode of French psychological bourgeois fiction to create the characters which compose the larger family into which he was born. He creates with special force the central family which molded him: the mother who was like an older sister; the strong bookish grandfather; and the father, dead before the child was born, whose nonexistence in the family became a lack in Jean-Paul himself. But any autobiographer must turn his attention chiefly upon himself; and when the point of a story is that himself as child was deficient of will as well as destitute of adventure, then the storyteller must substitute something for the usual characterization and episode. What Sartre offers is an analytic account of how little Jean-Paul was molded into a form that went against his own nature—a nature that was, to be sure, unclear in any case. The combination of the puttiness of his own character, his position as the uncritically adored center of the family, and his grandfather's special attitude toward books and authors, permitted the child to regard himself as so predestined a genius that he could serve as both author and spectator of the drama of his own success. It also permitted him to devote himself to a most intricate and profound fakery. The narrative drive of the story merges into an analysis of how this confused falseness came about: the game of event yields its excitement to the hunt of understanding, the climax becoming a cliff hanger of pure moral analysis.

In addition to the narrative problem, there is the delicate matter of an autobiographer's relation to his former self. Sometimes a writer uses his autobiography as a way to project himself the man writing ("What a mighty lover am I!"). Sometimes he uses parts of his life as exempla for a thesis ("There is hope for you too"). Sometimes he is in such a position that his autobiography is also a historical document ("This is what really happened"). In these cases, the writer is encouraged to conceive of himself as a personage in a larger pattern of meaning. Sartre has undertaken a task of greater difficulty. He proposes to understand how he uniquely came into being ("How is this man different from all other men?"). Such an autobiographer must deny himself as writer all the vanity, self-pity, boasting and self-justification which exist in him as character; for a writer's relation to his former self must be severe, succinctly recounted, and pure if the reader is to believe he is telling the truth. Liking or admiring the character who is the subject of the story is not at issue. What matters is that the writer himself be intelligent and honest. Above all, honest: confession is a moral act. Sartre takes the stance that his childhood is a subject worthy of interest for intrinsic reasons, not because he is fond of it or because of his present notoriety (his term); he assumes that the process of understanding will cause the reader intimately to know another person and that such acquaintance is its own justification. Sartre never allows the personal benefit he as author may gain from this process of understanding to pollute the reader's involvement. In fact, I am (gratefully) hard put to it to guess exactly what that benefit is, beyond the literary one of writing a very good book. I have the impression that he was able to write this book because he had gained a certain wisdom as a man; not that he wrote it instrumentally, as a way of achieving maturity. This latter is also a legitimate reason to write a book, but one that tempts writers to long-windedness and the vapors.

Why have I been insincere? A preposterous question for a writer to ask himself, implying not only that he can sincerely feel that earlier he was insincere, but also that he can prove it to the reader. The proof of his metamorphosis must be the book itself, which thereby becomes the demonstration of its own thesis.

Sartre cannot *demonstrate* that his writing was insincere up till ten years or so ago. He asserts it as the case; he cites his critics; he points to certain defects of style, especially a forced, laborious quality. But if you happen to think that he was a literary master—of fiction and drama as well as of essay—then he has done in *The Words* as neat a job of one-upmanship as I ever heard of. If you thought highly of the early Sartre, you cannot, *sincerely*, think highly of the late, and

George Elliott is the author of Parktilden Village *and* Among the Dangs. *His most recent book,* A Piece of Lettuce *(Random House), is a collection of reminiscences and literary criticism.*

Vesalius

the man who knew the design
of our bodies
that our Mean
or due proportion of spirit
is how much of necessary flesh,
to spell it

here,
run your fingers on it
musculature of delight
that moves for you
& always towards you

it is said
to be behavior of animal
tissue
& never mind
but it is the field
& there are
bees between it & the next
moving among them
even
in due measure though you
cannot see them you can
hear them always

Think
about the bees & then
forget them
who are the
movements of your movements

Robert Kelly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vice versa. The only way to endorse both early and late Sartre would be to take the attitude that in *The Words* he is playing; but this attitude would be false for a reader and self-protective.

I strutted past children still unborn who were the very image of me. I brought tears to my eyes by imagining those I would make them shed. I saw my death through their eyes; it had taken place, it was my truth; I became my own obituary.

In these words he is not playing a game of French flashiness; he means what he says.

As it happens, I do not need to be convinced of the insincerity of the Sartre of *Nausea, No Exit, What Is Existentialism?, Saint Genet,* and the other pieces I have looked at. A couple of the essays, especially one on anti-Semitism, seemed genuine to me; there were flashes of brilliance to be caught along the way in almost every piece; *The Flies* was a quite interesting play, I thought, though far from a great one. Sartre's literary trouble was partly an excessive and forced rhetoric; but also there were the posing, the melodrama and the flashiness.

In *The Words,* Sartre gets to the heart of the matter. He never really suffered from fear of his own death (was not Jean-Paul predestined to literary immortality?) or of nothingness. It now is clear that the anguish he was forever talking about all those years was other people's anguish, not his own. To speak well on matters of such ultimate importance, a man must speak from his inmost heart. He must be true to himself. Sartre was not. "I've often written (my books) against myself, which means against everybody."

Yet now he says he is changed. And the change rings true. In the book's crucial passages one feels in one's own heart that responsive vibration which signifies that a writer has got there, made it, found and felt the truth of a matter. Not that Sartre overdoes things. He is not absolutely sincere in every sentence of this book. The last paragraph is pretty schmaltzy, and he cannot resist some of those vast paradoxes which are a weakness of French intellectuals.

I plunged into pride and sadism, in other words, into generosity, which, like avarice or race prejudice, is only a secret balm for healing our inner wounds and which ends by poisoning us.

But a few of these do not spoil the book. On the contrary, they serve to reassure the reader that Sartre is not totally, and therefore incredibly, altered. The old man lives in the new man still; that is, the conversion was genuine, an imperfect man has become a less imperfect one.

On the whole *The Words* is composed in a style that suits its purpose: in classic French prose, succint, exact and mercilessly unselfed.

In the beginning, I was sound as an apple: a little faker who knew enough to stop in time. But I worked hard; even when it came to bluffing, I remained a plugger. I now regard my tricks and jugglings as spiritual exercises and my insincerity as the caricature of an utter sincerity that was constantly grazing me and always eluding me. I had not chosen my vocation; it had been imposed on me by others. Actually, nothing had happened: some words tossed off by an old woman and Charles' machiavellism. But that was enough for me to be convinced. The grown-ups, who were installed in my soul, pointed to my star: I didn't see it, but I saw their fingers pointing; I believed in the adults who claimed to believe in me. They had taught me the existence of the great dead—one of whom was still alive—Napoleon, Themistocles, Philip Augustus, Jean-Paul Sartre. I did not doubt the fact: to have doubted would have been to have doubts about the adults. As for the last-named, I would have liked simply to meet him face to face.

There is a hint in the book that he intends to continue his autobiography. If he does, he will have to pose himself the most difficult question. *How did it come about that I am now sincere?* Since he is an atheist who believes in the crucial importance of choice in one's life, he cannot credit the change he has undergone to divine intervention or to any sort of determining natural evolution. He must manage, without insincerity, to convince the reader that he himself caused his own improvement. If he succeeds in doing this, he will have completed an autobiography which will surely survive him. By the elegance with which he repudiates a spurious immortality, he will have gained the real thing.

The publication of Sartre's The Words *was postponed from September 14 to October 7. However, this was established only after the present issue had been made up for press. Our apologies to readers who may find the book temporarily unavailable.*—EDITORS.

New titles in the Wesleyan Poetry Program

DAVID IGNATOW
Figures of the Human (P23)

VERN RUTSALA
The Window (P24)

Each: $4 clothbound; $1.85 paperbound. The Wesleyan Poetry Program now numbers 24 titles. Write for a descriptive brochure.

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS
A Critical Study

By Linda Welshimer Wagner. "Better than other treatments of the prosody that is Williams' greatest contribution and accounts for his impact on younger poets."
—Noman Holmes Pearson
Notes, bibliography, index. $6.50

THE STUDENT AND HIS STUDIES

By Esther Raushenbush. The author, former dean of Sarah Lawrence College, presents here four case studies of actual students (at Harvard, Macalester, New College of Hofstra, Sarah Lawrence) "who used their education as a means of growing up." The first publication of a long-term program sponsored by the Hazen Foundation. 208 pages. $5.00

BOTTEGHE OSCURE
Index

With an Introduction by Archibald MacLeish. A complete index to the 25 volumes of BOTTEGHE OSCURE (1948-1960), the famous international literary journal. $15.00

Complete Sets

Complete sets of BOTTEGHE OSCURE, all 25 numbers and the Index, are available in limited supply. With the exception of a few early numbers reproduced in facsimile, these copies are original printings.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, prior to October 29, 1964:
clothbound $225 net
paperbound $185 net

After October 29, 1964:
clothbound $250 net
paperbound $200 net

Wesleyan University Press
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just published

SOUTHEAST ASIA

ILLUSION AND REALITY IN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

by ***Lennox A. Mills***

Provides the needed background for an understanding of the present critical situation in Southeast Asia, with analysis of the governments and economic status of Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, South Viet Nam, the Philippines, North Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos.

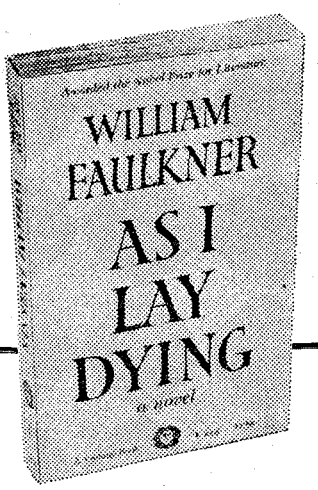
$6.50

At your bookseller or from

The University of Minnesota Press

2037 University Ave. Southeast
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

NEW Vintage BOOK



AS I LAY DYING
By WILLIAM FAULKNER
$1.65, now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

A Critic's Credo

Harold Clurman

"Criticism is, has been, and eternally will be as bad as it possibly can be." Thus spake George Bernard Shaw, the best theatre critic in the English language in at least the past hundred years. What he meant was that critics will never satisfy everyone concerned, that they will always make horrendous "mistakes," that they are bound occasionally to cause damage, and that the degree of their benefactions will always fall under the shadow of serious doubt.

What is a critic anyway? For the reader of the daily newspaper he is one who issues bulletins in the manner of a consumers' report. He is a sort of advance man, a free-loading publicity agent charged with the duty of instructing the prospective theatregoer as to what he should or should not buy. He is to tell his readers in no uncertain terms, "I like it" or "I don't like it."

If the reader were as careful in his perusal of printed matter as he is admonished to be about his diet, he would realize that in most cases the inference contained in the declaration "I like it" is of little value, in fact, nearly meaningless. All three words are vague!

Who is the "I" that speaks? Why should his assertion carry any particular weight? For him to exercise any decisive influence over me, should I not take the measure of the man, learn something of his intrinsic qualifications, his human disposition, his beliefs, his personal complexion? There are critics whose most emphatic encomia fill me with misgivings.

Second: what does the critic mean by the word "like"? In what way does he like it? I like pretty girls and I do not particularly "like" Samuel Beckett's work; yet I do not rush to a show which boasts a cast of pretty girls (I can meet them elsewhere) but I hope never to miss a Beckett play.

Above all: what is the "it" which the critic likes or dislikes? I like candy and I like meat, but before consuming either I should be able to distinguish between the two. The primary obligation of the critic is *to define* the character of the object he is called upon to judge. The definition itself may constitute a judgment, but insofar as they are distinct from each other the definition should precede the judgment. It is perfectly proper to rave about *Barefoot in the Park* as candy, and I can well understand the critic who damns Wedekind's *The Awakening of Spring*, but I can have little respect for him if he does not recognize that it is meat. It is certainly true that one man's meat is another man's poison, but the manner and reason for the choice may characterize the man.

To put what I have said in another way: the reviewer whose reaction to a play is contained in some such ejaculations as "electrifying," "inspired," "a thunderbolt," "a mighty work," "a dismal bore," may in each instance be right, but his being right does not by itself make him a critic. For these epithets only indicate effects: pleasure or displeasure. The true critic is concerned with causes, with the composition of human, social, formal substances which have produced the effect. Strictly speaking, it is not even necessary that the critic name the effect; it is imperative that he take into account the sources from which it springs. In doing this the critic is faithful to the work he treats of, while at the same time he affords the reader some idea of what manner of man the critic himself is—which is a crucial consideration.

In estimating Shaw as a critic it does not upset me that he was captious about Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*—he was wrong—and that he was much more receptive to the same author's *An Ideal Husband*, a play for which I have less regard. In both cases he said things of great interest and moment; I am more impressed with him in my disagreement than I am in the critic who pronounces *Any Wednesday* a "wow"—a statement which brooks no denial.

Theatre having become a luxury commodity with us, the person in quest of entertainment demands instantaneous guidance, and the daily critic is there to supply it with the necessary dispatch. His columns tend toward making the pronouncement of opinion a substitute for criticism, so that very few of his readers have any idea of what criticism really is.

Newspaper editors are not especially interested in the theatre. Their views are generally similar to that of the ordinary playgoer. There is, thus, little inquiry into the qualifications of the person who is to occupy the post of theatre critic. If he is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

competent journalist, is not so eccentric in his tastes that his recommendations are likely to disappoint or offend readers, the editor is satisfied. If, in addition, the critic can crack wise and shape his opinions into formulas as efficient as an advertising slogan, the editor is delighted. What concerns him most is circulation.

The daily critic is actually responsible to no one but his newspaper. In the context of our present theatre situation the critics of at least three or four of our dailies (the columns themselves even more than the people who write them) exercise far more power than anyone desires them to—power, that is, which affects sales. The critic may himself be embarrassed by the commercial influence he exerts. He will even go so far on occasion as to disclaim that he is a critic; protesting that he is simply a reviewer, that his word is hardly more important than the next fellow's. After all, as has often been remarked, he is usually constrained to write his review immediately after the performance in less than an hour. While such defenses are largely sincere, they contain some unconscious hypocrisy. The fact remains that most of the daily reviewers mistake their opinions for criticism. They are as much in the dark on the subject as their readers.

Criticism, to paraphrase Anatole France, is the adventure of a soul (or a mind) among presumed works of art. Just as the artist seeks to communicate his experience of life through the use of its raw materials and the specific means of his art, so the critic, confronting the resultant creation, sheds a new light on it, enhances our understanding of it, and finally ends by making his own sense of life significant to his readers. At best, the critic is an artist whose point of departure is another artist's work. If he is a truly fine critic, he will make his reader something of an artist as well. It is not essential that he also make him a customer!

Let us agree that the daily reviewer is rarely a critic of this kind because, for one thing, he has no time to be. One notices, however, that he infrequently has more to say about a play after a week's reflection than he said immediately after the performance. Some reviewers do not even desire more time. They trust that the rush from playhouse to typewriter will furnish them with the impetus to convey honest hot-off-the-griddle reaction.

For my part, I often do not know what I really think about a play as I leave the performance. Momentary satisfactions and immediate irritations frequently warp my judgment. My thoughts and feeling become clear to me only when I read what I have written! And then, I must confess, I sometimes alter my view, in the sense that I see plays—as I do people—in many different perspectives according to time and circumstance. The critic ought to proclaim the right to change his mind, just as an art work itself changes even for its own creator. Our relation to art ought not to be static; it is a very human business.

To be candid, however, let us assert that most daily reviewers are not critics because they are not richly enough endowed with sensibility, thoughtfulness, personality, knowledge of art and life or literary skill to hold our attention for much longer than it takes to read their reviews.

It should not surprise us that great theatre critics — Lessing, Hazlitt, Lewes, Shaw — and even lesser ones of the same line are rarely employed as daily reviewers because men of this rank have prejudices about which they are as explicit as possible — prejudices moreover which are rarely those of the casual reader. And one of the authentic critic's main purposes is to enunciate or construct an attitude toward life—if you will a "philosophy"—and to make it as cogently relevant as possible. This must necessarily scare a newspaper editor whose publication is designed to please "everybody," that is, from 400,000 to a million readers daily.

Criticism can never be wholly objective — though the critic should keep the "object" well in view—but our basic complaint is not that certain daily reviewers are too subjective but that too often they are themselves such puny subjects.

Critics of the mass-circulation weeklies are usually men who write in the vein of the daily reviewer except that they employ a more specialized or more "pointed" vocabulary. The men who write for the smaller (usually liberal) weeklies aim to fulfill the requirements of true criticism, though too often—as sometimes in the case of George Jean Nathan—they believe they will attain this goal by defiantly reversing the daily reviewers' coin. To thumb one's nose at Broadway

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

Cajole and Cozen

He was not all rawhide. Almost from the start, Mr. Johnson demonstrated that his political antennas are as delicate and sensitive as a safecracker's fingertips. And he could cajole and cozen, smile beatifically, reward and punish with rare and effective skill.

Still the homespun image persisted, and it kept pace with Senator Johnson's ever-growing reputation as the most masterful wheeler-dealer in U.S. political history. He became, to his enemies at least, a kind of bucolic Rasputin, a Richelieu in Levi's.

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

values is not in itself an artistic gesture. Still there is a value in upsetting settled and stupid habits of mind.

In the monthlies and the scholarly quarterlies, criticism generally becomes aesthetic debate or exposition, frequently valuable as instruments in criticism. (Aristotle's *Poetics* is the classic model for this sort of criticism.) Often this proves to be drama, rather than theatre, criticism. It is necessary to make the distinction because criticism of drama is a branch of literary criticism (though to be sure drama, like poetry and the novel, has its own laws), while the theatre critic, who must be thoroughly aware of literary values, looks upon drama as it historically came into being—as a part of but not the whole of the theatre, which is an art in itself. There are men of sound literary judgment who are unattuned to the theatre, just as there are cultivated folk who have little real feeling for music or the visual media. One has only to compare Max Beerbohm's essay on Duse with Shaw's corresponding piece to become aware of the difference between a brilliant commentator on the drama and a complete theatre critic.

In the introduction to my collected volume of theatre reviews and essays, *Lies Like Truth*, I said: "My notices in the weeklies tended to be milder than those I wrote for the monthly, and I suspect that I should be more careful to be kind if I wrote for a daily."

One may well ask how this statement can be reconciled with "honesty" and high standards. "My years of work as a producer and as a director," I went on to say, "taught me many lessons about snap judgments and the dangers of a too proud or rigid dogmatism. . . . I would conduct myself in criticism . . . with due regard for immediate contingencies without ever losing sight of the larger issues and aims. Do not, I tell myself, squash the small deeds of the theatre's workers, trials and errors with an Absolute."

Can a person professionally engaged in the theatre also be a reliable critic? The simplest answer is to cite—I have already indirectly done so above—the names of some of the best critics of the past who have been craftsmen and critics in their respective artistic areas—a list I might extend further to include poets, musicians and painters. But I shall once again call upon Shaw to speak for me: "I do my best to be partial, to hit out at remediable abuses rather than at accidental shortcomings, and at strong and responsible people rather than at weak and helpless ones. . . . A man is either a critic or not a critic. . . . He cannot help himself."

I shall go further. The fact that I am engaged in active stage work does not render me either timid and indulgent or resentful, malicious and vindictive. It makes me scrupulous and responsible. I am convinced that a critic of contemporary effort owes it to his job to be responsible to everyone in the theatre: the audience to begin with, as well as to the dramatists, actors, directors, designers. In doing this he becomes responsible to the Theatre as a whole.

George Jean Nathan once cavalierly said that he didn't care if every box office in the country closed. I do care. For the closing of the box office bespeaks closing of the theatre and this would mean that we would end by being more culturally maimed than we are with the theatre in its present deplorable state. There can be no "masterpieces" where there isn't any production, any routine theatre activity. Even in Elizabethan times, without a box office, no theatre; without a theatre (and inevitably many bad plays), no Shakespeare to write for it.

I would encourage playgoing. (Do not lift your brows too high; it makes you look idiotic.) I would encourage it not by rave reviews of mediocre plays, not by discovering "genius" in every promising talent, but by being wholly committed to saying, with due regard to all the complexity of the elements involved, what I feel at each theatrical occasion I am called on to attend. Such treatment, which arises from a devotion to talent howsoever modest, will arouse interest in the theatre. Making extravagant claims for entertainment which one knows will prove remunerative, with or without critical ballyhoo, depresses such interest as much as does the neglect of promising, but not yet wholly ripe, efforts. I regard the writer to whom the practical economic, social and professional aspects of the theatre are totally alien as at best a curator of the drama, not as a true critic.

As to my own "philosophy" of life and the theatre: it must become apparent with the continuity of my progress as man and critic. It is for that rather than for my incidental recommendations — when I take the trouble to make them — that I write. Just as opinions, yours are as good as mine.

Next week, Mr. Clurman will apply the principles outlined in this essay to current practices in theatre criticism.

Mythology

no gulls screech. unless
you walk far west you
will think this city not
port, it hides its functions
so beautifully, like any
bourgeois. no age. no
newness. only the
people and the money, new
york/s history. banks
all over. people all over.
a lonely city to be jostled in
sometimes and not even
kick back. make it a
mountain to climb then —
alpenstocks, someone you
trust at the other end
of the rope, dig boots in.

simple enough. who cares
for gulls anyhow? who cares
for any charm except that
we make ourselves, carefully,
out of bits and pieces of
existence in a dangerous
climate where we live

Joel Oppenheimer

REALITY AND MYTH IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
Statements by
John F. Kennedy
Senator J. W. Fulbright
President Lyndon B. Johnson
also
THE SOVIET ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE IN WESTERN EUROPE
THE STATE OF THE UNION, 1964
THE DOCUMENT PRESS
Box 597, Newark, Del.
$1.00 each; discount on quantity

BRITISH ELECTION STUDY TOUR
Oct. 1-15
Arranged with the Cooperation of the English-Speaking Union
MEET party leaders, campaign managers, candidates. ATTEND rallies in rural and urban constituencies. HEAR Tories, Laborites, Liberals debate nuclear weaponry, disarmament, future of UN, foreign policy, Commonwealth problems, domestic issues. OBSERVE side effects of Johnson-Goldwater contest. EXPERIENCE the difference between American and British electioneering.
For particulars write or phone:
CLUB TOURS, Inc.
11 West 42 St., New York 36
LOngacre 3-0535

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Art in Court

1. City of Angels vs. Scorpio Rising

Fred Haines

Last spring half a dozen vice-squad officers barged into a Hollywood art film house and sat down to watch *Scorpio Rising*, an experimental work by Kenneth Anger. When they left they took *Scorpio* with them; in their opinion it was a pretty dirty movie. Several days later they returned to arrest theatre manager Mike Getz.

Gaiety prevailed when the trial opened in April in the Los Angeles Municipal Court. Jurors were eager to be empaneled: this case promised to be far more exciting than the customary trials of junkies, drunks and hustlers. With censorship rapidly vanishing under ten years of progressive court rulings, those defending the film weren't too worried. *Tropic of Cancer, Naked Lunch,* even *Fanny Hill* (which may be a truly pornographic novel, depending on what you think "pornographic" means), are freely sold all over the city. And *Scorpio* would be tried under the California State Penal Code's definition of obscenity, which combines the sense of recent court rulings with the American Law Institute's 1957 "model" definition.

Obscenity, in California, is that which, to "the average person applying current standards . . . the predominant appeal of the material taken as a whole is to the prurient interest, i.e., a shameful or morbid interest in nudity, sex or excretion." Obscenity "goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description of such matter and is . . . utterly without redeeming social importance."

Not a bad definition—in spite of the vagueness of terms like "appeal," "customary limits" and "prurient." In order to be legally obscene, a work must meet all of the criteria at once, and the clause on social importance seems to guarantee immunity to serious art. It does not mean that social importance must outweigh obscenity; the courts have held that *any* social importance redeems an otherwise obscene work. If one concedes that serious art necessarily has social importance, the radical's axiom that art is never obscene seems enshrined in California law.

The prosecutor presaged the drift of his case against Scorpio in the selection of jurors. Deputy City Attorney Warren Wolf dismissed all those who customarily enjoyed books or movies—an easy task, since only a few were guilty of such conduct. Defense counsel Stanley Fleishman was satisfied with the all-woman jury eventually empaneled; he feared that a male juror with anxieties about his masculinity might respond hysterically to the homoerotic undertones of Anger's film.

Scorpio Rising investigates the American motorcycle cult in purely visual terms. There is no narration. Anger's camera explores the sensual nature of the cyclist's relationships to his machine-sex object, to his buddies and to his heavily symbolic leather clothing, chain belts and jewelry. He portrays the cyclist as an alienated, death-oriented hipster, whose masculinity is expressed as violence and whose femininity emerges in his clothing, in his masochistic devotion to cults and in the kind of homoerotic horseplay common to authoritarian, all-male groups like fraternities or veterans' clubs. Anger's motorcyclist is not unlike Fromm's Fascist in *Escape from Freedom* or Lindner's psychopath in *Rebel Without a Cause.*

Mr. Wolf opened by warning the jury ladies that they would actually see a "male penis" (throughout the trial he seemed to think there might be another kind). His expert witness would testify to the utter lack of "redeeming social importance." In fact, Mr. Wolf told them, *Scorpio Rising* is a cancerous film about a bunch of sick people that ought to be stamped out. It was not clear whether he was talking about the film or the sick people.

Scorpio was shown to the jury, and then the prosecution introduced eleven stills made from frames of the film. They were admitted into evidence over the defense objection that they hardly constituted "best evidence," since the film itself was an exhibit. These represented shots picturing a penis or other nudity. All were from a single scene.

Anger shot his film in Brooklyn, using a real motorcycle club. In order to film a party he threw one himself, hanging dime-store Halloween decorations around to provide

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

Ping Pong and Pigs

Ping Pong players depend on it; pig farmers are inspired by it; juvenile delinquents are cured by it. The all-purpose panacea: the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, or TMTT as it is known in the irreverent shorthand of Hong Kong's China-watchers, who have recently detected a new campaign to spread Mao's gospel by means of heroic example.

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some of the death symbols he wanted. He asked the cyclists' wives to stay behind the camera. Once the party, complete with improvised costumes, got under way, Anger asked his cast to make an entrance he could film. The first guy through the door came in wearing one of the decorations, a cardboard skeleton, which he had adorned—as a joke on the film-maker—with a rubber dildoe from a Times Square novelty shop. This artificial penis figured in much of the night's revelry, which included a lot of that childish pseudosexual play so aptly characterized by the slang term "grab-ass." In cutting his final footage, Anger emphasized this sexual clowning to create the impression that an ugly sort of orgy was taking place.

The jury ladies couldn't make much of the stills, but Mr. Wolf helpfully explained that they depicted "attempted" oral intercourse, "attempted" anal intercourse, and so forth. He next brought his expert to the stand. Vagueness, which ordinarily invalidates an indictment, is the essence of an obscenity trial, since there is no objective test for obscenity. (Ladies donning silk stockings are obscene to some people; motorcyclists donning leather jackets are obscene to others.) Consequently, if there is no question as to whether the material was actually exhibited, the only relevant evidence is the opinion of experts. Even more confusing, this "evidence" is not binding on the jury, which is instructed to make up its own mind no matter what the experts say.

The prosecution's expert was J. Warren Day, a 26-year-old Boy Scout leader from La Crescenta. A graduate of Scarritt College, Tennessee, Mr. Day serves as education director for a Methodist Church. Mr. Day sees two movies a month and calls himself something of a movie fan. He knew the film was homosexual right from the first scenes, which were portrait shots of jazzed-up motorcycles.

Oddly enough, Mr. Day remembered all the scenes that showed penises, but could not recall the spectacular motorcycle wreck that climaxed the film. Nor did he notice another key scene, a man taking a drug. Shown a reproduction of a Courbet painting, Day judged it obscene. The fact that motorcyclists admire Nazis was of no social importance. *Scorpio* might have social importance for some people, he admitted, but not for the average person. The film was largely unintelligible to the average person. Moreover it was trite. How could that be? Well, it was trite to Mr. Day, but "above" the average person.

Shown photos of Indian temple sculpture, Mr. Day opined that it would be obscene if "on public view" (which it is). On the other hand, a Greek vase depicting fellatio and buggery would not be obscene if it illustrated an ancient Greek play (which it did), but would be otherwise.

Then came defense experts: James Powers, film critic for the Hollywood *Reporter*, felt that Anger was a gifted film-maker meriting serious attention. Showing the penis does not go "beyond customary limits"—travelogues occasionally show the male organ. Paul Sawyer, a Unitarian minister, said that *Scorpio*, like the Bible, dealt with morality by depicting immorality. Sex organs are often shown in art, even great religious art.

Cinematographer Archer Goodwin testified that he had timed the objectionable shots. Their total duration was eighteen and two-thirds seconds. Of this, two shots—the cardboard skeleton shot and another revealing the bare buttocks of a man on a cycle—lasted more than six seconds each. The remaining nine shots occupied the screen less than six seconds all together—none lasted long enough for the viewer to assimilate their content. In other words, nine of the eleven shots were essentially "subliminal."

Goodwin found no sexual contact in any of the shots, and even microscopic analysis did not reveal whether any of the penislike objects were in fact penises. One of the stills—showing a man's head on another's lap—had been cropped. The full frame clearly showed several people who were merely scuffling. In any case, excepting the skeleton shot, a penis-like object appeared in only nine frames out of a total 44,500.

Judge Bernard Selber asked Goodwin why a film-maker would use shots a viewer could not, in any ordinary sense, "see." Goodwin thought Anger wanted to suggest homosexuality without showing it. In any case, Goodwin said, a true pornographer would hardly hide his best shots that way.

More defense experts followed: Mel Sloan, a professional film-maker and USC teacher; film critic and teacher Colin Young; *Saturday Review* critic Arthur Knight, one of the judges who selected Anger for a $10,000 Ford Foundation grant; Ted Carpenter, chairman of Valley State College's anthropology department; art critic Jules Langsar; film editor Verna Fields, who testified that she would let her children see *Scorpio;* Rabbi Leonard Bierman; Ruth Hirschman of KPFK-FM; and the producer-director of *Hud,* Martin Ritt.

Twelve witnesses in all. None thought the film obscene according to the law. Several thought *Scorpio* went well beyond customary limits of candor—at least for a film—but all conceived it to be of redeeming social importance.

At last the defendant took the stand. (Actually, the defendant serves mostly as a sort of "body bail"—if the film is guilty, he goes to jail.) Technically, at least, it was necessary to prove that Getz knew the film to be obscene in order to convict him, but no one seemed to care very much about that. The 26-year-old Cornell graduate did not, and still does not, believe the film to be obscene.

On rebuttal the prosecution brought in two more witnesses. The first was the 26-year-old student who had filed the complaint. He thought *Scorpio* was a stag film. We all know about motorcyclists and prostitutes, he said, but we don't have to see films about them. He admitted he had seen other films about prostitutes, even on TV, and Fleishman dropped his cross-examination.

The last witness, Dr. Fred Goldstein, was a clinical psychologist who treats many homosexuals. Dr. Goldstein obviously had good claim to expert status, but he almost seemed not to have seen the same film the others saw. He objected that *Scorpio* did not portray all homosexuals fairly; it dealt with a vicious minority, and its only apparent purpose was to

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 9-14-64
333 Sixth Ave., New York 10014

☐ One Year, $10
☐ Two Years, $18
☐ 6 Months, $5

☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY .....
STATE ..... ZIP NO. .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arouse the prurient interest of that minority. Asked whether he believed the film would arouse the average person, Dr. Goldstein said it would be as confusing to the average person as an Ingmar Bergman film.

Fleishman, in summing up, pointed out that Mr. Day's definition of obscenity was more restrictive than the law's, since he condemned works previously exonerated by various courts. Dr. Goldstein, on the other hand, had admitted that the film would not arouse the prurient interest of the *average* person as required by the law.

Mr. Wolf told the jurors they need not heed the experts, that the problem was one of moral standards. He read a passage from *Tropic of Cancer* and asked them how they would like to see that on a wide screen, in color—even Panavision! He predicted that *Scorpio Rising* would be shown on television, a possibility that could only have astonished its maker.

Judge Selber instructed the jury to find for acquittal if they agreed the film had any social importance whatever, which, apparently, they did not. After less than five hours of deliberation, the twelve ladies reached their verdict: guilty. Mike Getz received a sentence of $500 or fifty days, which is now being appealed.

Anyone who sat through the trial heard twelve people—artists, critics, educators, a minister and a rabbi—recommend *Scorpio Rising* as a worthwhile aesthetic experience, a film of insight and social importance which one might want to see. At the trial's end, another twelve people delivered a contrary opinion. But the second group's decision was far more than a recommendation not to see *Scorpio;* they told the spectator, in effect, that he *may not* see the film. They made it clear that no matter how "progressive" the obscenity statute, a court of law is a poor device for making artistic judgments. The legal process is directed toward securing a verdict; that is the way we deal with facts. In debate about values, though, we insist that the verdict is never in, that no one has the right to close off debate.

Fred Haines is a story analyst for Columbia Pictures.

2. Candy Comes to Chicago

Bruce Cook

Writing in the May, 1964, issue of the *Reader's Digest,* Clarence Hall tells us, ". . . Police Superintendent O. W. Wilson [of Chicago] created a program of attack that is now hailed as a model for police. Making district heads co-responsible with the Vice Control Division, Wilson placed pornography control with the cop on the beat."

Significantly enough, the title of the article from which this is quoted is "Poison in Print—and How to Get Rid of It," and it describes the activities and history of the Citizens for Decent Literature. Among other achievements, Hall credits the CDL with pressuring Wilson to create this model "program of attack."

Could be. But while the CDL is at least as active in the city as in other large metropolitan centers, it is only one of a number of forces that make contributions, both subtle and blatant, to the heavy local atmosphere of censorship and suppression. The National Office for Decent Literature has its headquarters in the city and is nowhere stronger than in this, the largest Roman Catholic archdiocese in the world. Individuals contribute their share, too. For example, columnist Jack Mabley of Chicago's *American* recently boasted, "Chicago is getting a reputation around the country as a very strait-laced town, as far as the circulation of salacious books is concerned." Then he explained just what sort of books he had in mind: "Legal action has stopped or limited the sale not only of *Tropic of Cancer*, but a companion volume, *Tropic of Capricorn,* and *Fanny Hill,* a prostitute's candid memoirs, and most recently *Candy,* a vulgar book which is a best-seller in other cities but is virtually bootlegged in Chicago." Paul Molloy, a *Sun-Times* columnist who is more of an activist than even Mabley, has raised the flag and rallied over 5,000 patriots around him in an organization he proudly calls "Bluenoses, Inc." Taken together, it should give anyone a fair idea why Walter J. Minton, president of G. P. Putnam's Sons, has said that censorship in Chicago is "the most severe in the United States."

Although a number of girlie magazines and two erotic paperback lines are published in the city, legitimate booksellers have suffered most from attacks by columnists, "decent" literature organizations and police raids. In the last five years they have endured more or less continual harassment, and the campaign has grown steadily in intensity. *Candy* is only the latest book to excite the interest of the vigilantes.

I was told by a member of the Chicago Corporation Counsel's office that they get their tips on obscene books "from many different sources. We read about them in the newspapers or get some comment by word of mouth. They also are cited in specific complaints from citizens." It does seem likely, however, that *Candy* might have been spared had she not been called "dirty as hell" by *Time.* In any case, the boys from the vice squad put in their appearance, the book was pulled from the shelves, and it is now sold "selectively" (that is, the clerk makes sure you're not from the fuzz).

But apart from the merits of *Candy* as literature or obscenity, it may prove to be the most important case yet, since for Chicago booksellers it seems to be the very last straw. On June 15, they met together to form what amounts to an association for mutual defense. About thirty-five people attended, including reporters, literary editors and attorneys. Except for electing Joseph Faulkner (owner of Michigan Avenue's Main Street Bookstore) head of the group, the booksellers did little more than articulate their history of harassment to the press. But by the time (a week or so later) the group met again, they had two court decisions to discuss: the Illinois Supreme Court had upheld a local decision against *Tropic of Cancer* as an obscene work, and the U.S. Supreme Court had reversed a similar one in Florida, nullifying the Illinois ruling.

Following the second meeting, Joseph Faulkner of Main Street said that he thought the Florida *Cancer* decision extremely important. "This one, together with an earlier case originating in Kansas, set out the proper procedure for the banning of a book—evaluation first by a competent panel, and then action by police, courts or whatever. After all, here in Chicago, it's not just a matter of suppression and censorship, but one of constant humiliation and harassment."

The Corporation Counsel's office is proud of the city's obscenity ordinance.

Bruce Cook is a frequent contributor to Commonweal, The Critic *and* Catholic World.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't Laugh Off The Radical Right. They're Not Kidding.

In 1962, **The Nation** devoted a special issue to a report-in-depth on "THE ULTRAS: Aims, Affiliations and Finances of the Radical Right," by Fred J. Cook.

One of Fred Cook's conclusions was that "The victory of the respectable-radical Right, if it should ever be achieved, would spell the absolute blight of the American mind and spirit."

This issue of **The Nation**, so prophetic in 1962, makes even more important reading today as the full power of the radical Right is being mustered to meet its greatest challenge. For a deeper understanding of what makes them tick, where their strengths are, and what to expect as election day nears, THE ULTRAS is must reading.

Send now for copies of THE ULTRAS for yourself and your neighbors.

Low bulk rates are available.

THE NATION

333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

Please send me copies of "The Ultras" as indicated below.

I enclose payment in the sum of $——

☐ 10 copies for $4 ☐ 100 copies for $30

☐ 50 copies for $17.50 ☐ Single copy, 50c

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip Code .....

"It ought to be good," I was told, "it was phrased after the Roth-Alberts decision of the Supreme Court." The ordinance states that it is against the law to *knowingly* disseminate obscene matter. The standard it sets for judging matter obscene is this: "Whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest."

Booksellers protest that it's not the *ordinance but its enforcement that* causes trouble. Barbara Kahn, who owns and operates Barbara's Bookstore in the city's Old Town district, told how she had been visited by two plain-clothes men from the vice squad. They came in together and bought paperback copies of *City of Night* by John Rechy and *The One Hundred Dollar Misunderstanding* by Robert Gover (both had sold in hardback without incident). "I didn't know anything was up until one asked me if I had ever sold the books to minors," she said. "He seemed to take a pretty dim view of it when I told him I had no idea whether I had or hadn't. Then the other one held up *City of Night* and asked if I had read it. I said I'd read the first chapter and hadn't liked it very well. He seemed shocked at that and waved his hand at the thousands of titles and said, 'You mean you'd sell a book you haven't read?' I laughed and said, 'You're a policeman, aren't you?' They said they were and that they were going to take these books to a 'group of men' to be looked over for obscenity. Then they started to go, and I said, 'Well, what am I supposed to do in the meantime? Am I breaking a law?' The other one said, 'All you can do is just sweat it out.' They haven't come back, so I've stopped sweating."

It was to protest such treatment and to seek some sort of *modus vivendi* with the authorities that the booksellers' organization sent a delegation to the Corporation Counsel's office on July 2. Accompanied by Charles Liebman, one of three attorneys who are acting as advisers to the booksellers, they were met affably enough by city attorney Brian Kilgallen and others in the office who have been involved in the prosecution of obscenity cases.

Liebman seemed to feel that the absence of reporters helped their discussion considerably. "We had a very good talk on a dialogue, rather than an adversary, basis. We accomplished a complete change of climate. I think we'll see a 180-degree reversal in this policy of harassment." He said that he did no more than introduce the matter to the city's attorneys and then let the delegates do the talking. He feels that the recent decisions of the Supreme Court—both the Florida *Tropic of Cancer* case and *A Quantity of Books vs. Kansas* (October, 1963)—put the law so much on the side of the booksellers that they could afford to talk softly.

The city attorneys promised to study Liebman's proposal that pending obscenity prosecutions be stayed until matters of law are clarified to the satisfaction of all. They also accepted for consideration a modification of the Illinois search-warrant procedure as it applies to obscenity cases. The proposed change, following the Kansas decision, would provide for a hearing on the obscenity of a book *before* the issue of a warrant.

Liebman is optimistic, and the booksellers are encouraged. Since their audience, the Illinois Supreme Court has formally reversed its decision on *Tropic of Cancer*, making it available to the people of the state. Still, in spite of this small victory, the booksellers are not likely to claim that they have won their war against censorship. For against such powerful opponents as the CDL, the NODL and the Chicago police department, they can claim only one puny ally—the law.

Drought

The land, how
in a few days the birds
leave it, how
the buzzards, drinkers
of thicker fuels,
come on.
Their darkness.

Stalks stiff, the green
going gray-brown, blown
naked in wind.
The blackening up.

Sunlight winces
on the shoulder strap
callouses of a black man
stripped for work in dust

in heat loosening everywhere

His woman, reddish
in the westering haze
hums down the evening hush
to her strings.

Sometimes a skeleton whirlwind
lifts the hoarse voice
of the grasses.

Allen Planz

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

OPERA

VERDI: *La Traviata.* Renata Scotto, Ettore Bastianini, Gianni Raimondi. Orchestra and Chorus of La Scala, Milan; Antonio Votto, cond. Deutsche Grammophon SLPM 138 832/34 (S).

Il Trovatore. Antonietta Stella, Fiorenza Cossotto, Carlo Bergonzi, Ettore Bastianini. Chorus and Orchestra of La Scala, Milan; Tullio Serafin, cond. Deutsche Grammophon SLPM 138 835/37.

Rigoletto. Joan Sutherland, Cornell MacNeil. Chorus and Orchestra of L'Accademia Santa Cecilia; Nino Sanzogno, cond. London OSA 1332.

Perhaps the liveliest impression one receives from a fresh encounter with these almost unbearably familiar works is the sense of how much compositional profundity can be achieved even from within the most unlikely traditions and disciplines. For even such straightforward number-works as *La Traviata* and *Il Trovatore,* constructed from set pieces of simple sequential patterns, have a stylistic integrity and an economical deployment of resources that forecast the potential of a master compositional strategist. In particular, the detached perceptivity engendered by such a redundant listening experience allows one to discern behind the succession of smash-hit tunes a rhythmic compression and phrase control that is completely directed and directional, and a superb sense of timing that permits the dramatic, verbal and musical events to be fully comprehended and finely balanced within the total span.

Rigoletto, moreover, although composed earlier, impinges far more intensely and individually on one's awareness by its skintight molding of traditionally well-verified materials to the ebb and flow of a total dramatic progression, building through hairline precision of choice in every dimension to a swift and powerful forward drive. Strikingly individual vocal profiles are picked out from among the interior pitches of a continuous progression, so that—as in Mozart—the voices seem to be moving "inside" the overall forward flow, while maintaining and developing their distinctive qualities.

Both the *Traviata* and the *Trovatore* recordings show the traditionalist competence that is the most impressive quality presently to be found

Wanted... love for In Sun

CHUNG IN SUN, KOREAN, AGE 6. Father dead. New baby born in hole in ground after father's recent death. "Home" is a rocky hedge. Earthen floor. Roof straw mat. Cold, windy, rainy. No blankets for infant. Mother unable to work yet. Sells cabbage leaves when she can. Earns about 20c a day. Children hungry, cold, ragged. Situation desperate. Mother looks with despair on children she cannot feed and care for. Help to Chung In Sun means help to entire family.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by PLAN. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by PLAN staff and is insured against loss in every country where PLAN operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents' Plan. Let some child love you.**

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **We eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** PLAN helps children in Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Colombia and Ecuador.

(C) 1964 FPP, Inc.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 — Founded 1937

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS AND FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
Helen Hayes
C. D. Jackson
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Art Linkletter
Garry Moore
Edward R. Murrow
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Sarnoff
Gov. & Mrs. William W. Scranton
Sen. John G. Tower
Loretta Young

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC. N-9-64
352 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex_____, age_____, nationality_____.

I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year). Payment will be made monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, annually ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment of $_____

B. I cannot "adopt" a child but I would like to help a child by contributing $_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP NO. _____

Date _____ Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among European performances of "standard repertory" works. Here, as elsewhere, fidelity to the image of some sacred "source" performance results in a closer approximation to musical coherence and cogency than one finds in many superficially far more brilliant or "original" approaches. The most notable feature of this tradition in Italy is its special balance of clarity with smoothness, rhythmic and accentual acuity with sustained continuity, timbral and vocal brilliance, as well as harmonic firmness achieved with the lightest possible textural emphasis (compare this with the somewhat brittle harshness that sometimes results from the French preoccupation with extreme clarity, and the frequent sonic dullness and indistinct texture that arise from the German insistence on both vertical and horizontal homogeneity).

And it seems (from these recordings at least) that the other principal characteristic of modern Italian performance—a prevailing sloppiness about standards of intonation and accuracy under the most trivially undemanding conditions—has not yet penetrated to La Scala. Although in both cases casts and conductors are drawn from the regular Scala company, the *Trovatore* is altogether the superior performance, primarily because of Antonietta Stella's singing and the conducting of Tullio Serafin, who remains the living embodiment of the original Verdi tradition.

As far as *Rigoletto* is concerned, its demonstration of Verdi's mastery as a composer of "popular" opera extends to the performance: given reasonable vocal accuracy and adequate rhythm control, its qualities are so firmly embedded that it virtually plays itself. The only problem in this performance, therefore, is Joan Sutherland, whose mannerisms of uneven rhythm, scooping and peculiarly breathy vocal attacks call much more attention to the fact that she is singing than to the particular events of Gilda's music.

PUCCINI: *Il Trittico* (three one-act operas): *Il Tabarro, Gianni Schicchi, Suor Angelica.* Renata Tebaldi, Mario Del Monaco, Robert Merrill, Fernando Corena. Lamberto Gardelli, cond. London OSA 1364.

La Bohème. Anna Moffo, Richard Tucker, Mary Costa, Robert Merrill, Giorgio Tozzi, Philip Maero. Rome Opera House Orchestra; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM-6095.

Madama Butterfly. Leontyne Price, Richard Tucker, Rosalind Elias, Philip Maero. Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6160.

The wonderful sleazy sound that Puccini got in *Il Tabarro* by combining imitation jazz style and orchestration (evidently derived from French imitations of American jazz) with the traditional clichés of Impressionism and Italian *verismo* seems to me the apex of imaginative achievement for his special kind of admirable and highly effective commercialism, although I might have to admit, if confronted with particulars, that a number such as the first-act *Ha ben ragione* was inferior to *Old Man River* by all the applicable criteria. *Gianni Schicchi* is probably a more successful piece, since its neo-Mozart-Rossini *buffa* style was so much more familiar to Puccini and his audience that he could play much cleverer and funnier musical and situational associative games. In any case, these two are unquestionably Puccini's best works, full of deft theatrical, musical and orchestrational touches. *Suor Angelica,* on the other hand, is almost on the level of Menotti's crude dilutions of this style, but one can be grateful for it as the receptacle for all the sentimentality that was left out of the rest of the *Trittico.* The performances are honest and square, just right to project Puccini's jokes on his own performers.

Of the "big" Puccini operas, all grand illusions built out of the minimal content of a memorable phrase or two and (especially in *La Bohème*) a single, strong, rhythmic idea manipulated primarily by Puccini's prodigious skill in inventing and juxtaposing vocal and orchestral sonorities, *Madama Butterfly* is perhaps the most "musical," the least encumbered with jarring melodramatic pratfalls. In the present recording, everything lies well within the capacities of the performers, but Leontyne Price's way of melting notes together is somewhat disconcerting until one gets one's sea legs. (It seems inescapable that the qualities by which such "personality" singers as Sutherland and Price are identifiable rest principally in gratuitous little mannerisms of distortion and inaccuracy.) The *Bohème* recording is primarily for those who insist on maintaining complete record libraries, but is mostly a sad experience for anyone who remembers how Anna Moffo used to sound before succumbing to the vocal overuse that seems inevitably to follow success.

MOUSSORGSKY: *Boris Godunov.* Boris Christoff, Dimitri Ouzounov, John Lanigan. Paris Conservatory Orchestra, Chorus of the National Opera House of Sofia; Andre Cluytens, cond. Angel 3633 D/L (S).

Moussorgsky's reputation for originality appears to derive almost entirely from his use of novel devices of declamation and local harmonic and rhythmic progression derived from folk sources—which materials are treated with literal and unimaginative conventionality to the point of rather extreme technical naïveté. Rimsky-Korsakov's highly competent orchestration of *Boris* only emphasizes the crudities it attempts to hide, and the resultant spectacle is a little like that of a droshky being pulled by a Diesel engine. Christoff is the classic contemporary Boris, with the right Russian boom in his bass to instill the proper rapturous gloom in the nostalgic (real or sentimental) *émigré.* The sharp-edged string and brass sounds of the French players, too, are perfect for a work consisting almost entirely of massed individual timbral blocks.

BENJAMIN BORETZ

VACATIONS

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Records, books. Summer Theatre, Golf nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. **$55.00 Weekly; $9.00 Daily; Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $18.00.**
Tel. Newburgh: 562-1232
Jane C. Arenz, R.D. Box 160, Walden, N.Y.

YOUR VACATION IS DUE. Relax. 100 beautiful acres. Lake and boating on premises. Wholesome food. TV. Perfect for families. Write: Schwartz. **SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Phone: Jeffersonville 290.**

POLITICAL

PEACE, CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS rank foremost in campaign of Noel Day, Independent for Congress, against House Speaker McCormack in 9th District Mass. FUNDS NEEDED. **Noel Day for Congress, 727 Tremont St., Boston Mass.**

CAMPAIGN BUTTONS

"BURY GOLDWATER IN '64" buttons and bumper stickers. **$.50 each. Tela, P.O. Box 4929, Chicago, Illinois 60680.**

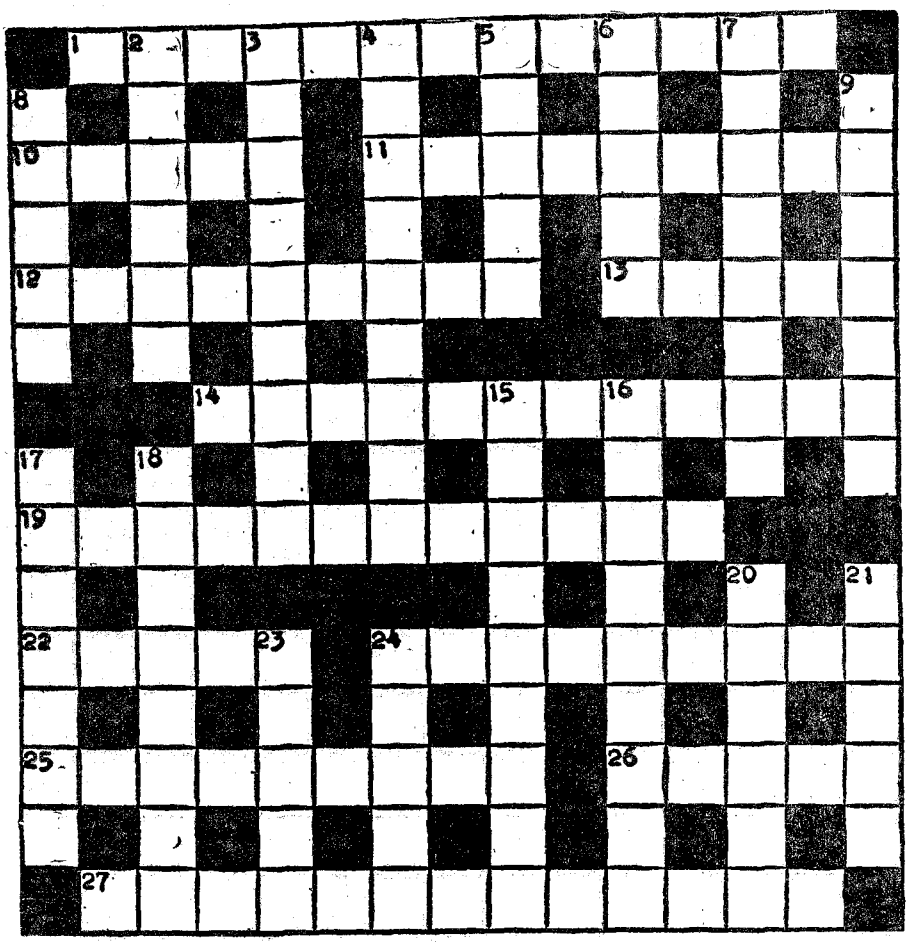
BUY YOUR BOOKS through THE NATION. Readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks), published in the U.S., at the regular retail price post-free. (Payment with order would be appreciated). Please give title, author and publisher, if possible.

THE NATION
Reader's Service Dept.,
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 10014

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1071

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Do they show a sampling of aggravated community districts? (5, 8)
10 In case the race is started with it?
11 If such be the case, are tranquilizers given for a more relaxed future? (4, 5)
12 One function with remedies is to make little work with them. (9)
13 and 24 down Intoxicated on what some prefer with Scotch? Such things might not go down easily.
14 Not fully developed pelts, perhaps associated with one's salad days. (5, 7)
19 The place where Diana grows flowers shouldn't be a popular spot. (8, 4)
22 Made of leather, perhaps, although not of quality when both parts are short. (5)
24 Follow behind, as one might one's parents. (4, 5)
25 Attack what might be given away by a person's laughter. (9)
26 These are likely to be of some significance.(5)
27 A short publicity undertaking a few find daring. (13)

DOWN:

2 People get about in the city, obviously. (6)
3 Do they bear the weight of the frame when one lifts the glass?
4 Jack's bean, by the sound of it, should be set aside. (9)
5 Allots parts of sheds? (5)
6 Two V's might be made as we might be when powerless. (2, 3)
7 If you say a whole number, it might suggest this as a place of refreshment. (8)
8 and 17 down Probably not valuable as paper, but bound to be more so. (5, 7)
9 Having broken a rib, she is tending to cause a decline. (7)
15 Is one practically a humorist? (9)
16 Sport a red convertible? Such things should be catchy! (9)
17 See 8 down
18 The sort of pose employed when getting married. (8)
20 Master plan for a flower. (6)
21 Paper and iron? (5)
23 Heavy accent? (5)
24 See 13 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1070

ACROSS: 1 Wallflowers; 9 Nuisance; 10 Althea; 11 Sparrow; 12 Stylite; 14 Merlin; 15 Installs; 17 and 27 across The Age of Pericles; 20 Decoct; 22 Appears; 24 Academy; 26 Wealth; 28 Statute mile. DOWN: 2 Australia; 3 Lincoln; 4 Leer; 5 Wraiths; 6 Ratel; 7 and 8 Supplemental; 13 Riffs; 16 Archducal; 18 Happen; 19 Earshot; 20 Decorum; 21 Combed; 23 Eclat; 25 Spat.

PUBLICATIONS

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 25c for your sample copy. **HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 132 W. 43 ST., 7th floor, New York 36. Tel.: BR 9-1021.**

EXTREMIST LITERATURE!

To fully understand the impact of the Goldwater nomination you need a first hand knowledge of the many Rightist groups that may support him. From neo-Nazi to Conservative, we will send you a large assortment of their shocking literature. **$2.00.**

GROUP INVESTIGATION ASSOCIATES
P.O. Box 428 Springfield, Mass.

"AROUND THE WORLD FOR $1,500"—175 pages. Send $2.00 to **BENMARK BOOKS, Suite 536, 152 West 42 Street, New York 36.**

FREE CATALOGUE, PAPERBACKS, ETC. Substantial Savings. **N. Y. BOOK AND RECORD CLUB, 4-G West 43 St., NYC. 36.**

EDUCATIONAL

JEWISH YOUTH AGES 18-26!

Hechalutz Farm in Hightstown, N. J.— the only training farm for kibbutz life in Israel is offering resident scholarships. Successful candidates will receive help with their passage to Israel. Apply: **Hechalutz Scholarship Program, Hechalutz Farm, Hightstown, N. J., or 112 Fourth Avenue, N.Y. 3. Tel.: GR 3-2420.**

SMALL school where individual freedom, responsibility and interest in learning is fostered, welcomes few boarders ages 7 to 12 years. **Freemount School, Ojai, California.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons — NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC). 569 Hudson Street, New York 14. PSC 709.**

PERSONALS

Bumper stickers: **GOLDWATER '64 — HOTWATER '65 or HELP GOLDWATER STAMP OUT PEACE.** 50c each, $4 for 10 from: **Lexon, Box 183H, Colvin Sta., Syracuse 5, N. Y.**

OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE, American, 23, desperately requires loan to finance completion of studies. Will repay with interest after graduation. Highest references furnished. **Box 566, c/o The Nation.**

BUMPERSTRIPS: "Vote Democratic," "Thank God for Democrats," "L B J for USA," red and blue on white stock, peel-off back; AFL-CIO Union Label; 5 for $1.00, 25 for $4, 100 for $10, 500 for $35, 1000 for $55, additional thousands $40. Quotations on other wording upon request. Send check with order; prices include parcel post or motor freight.
FUTURA PRESS, INC.
P.O. Box 3485, Austin, Texas 78704

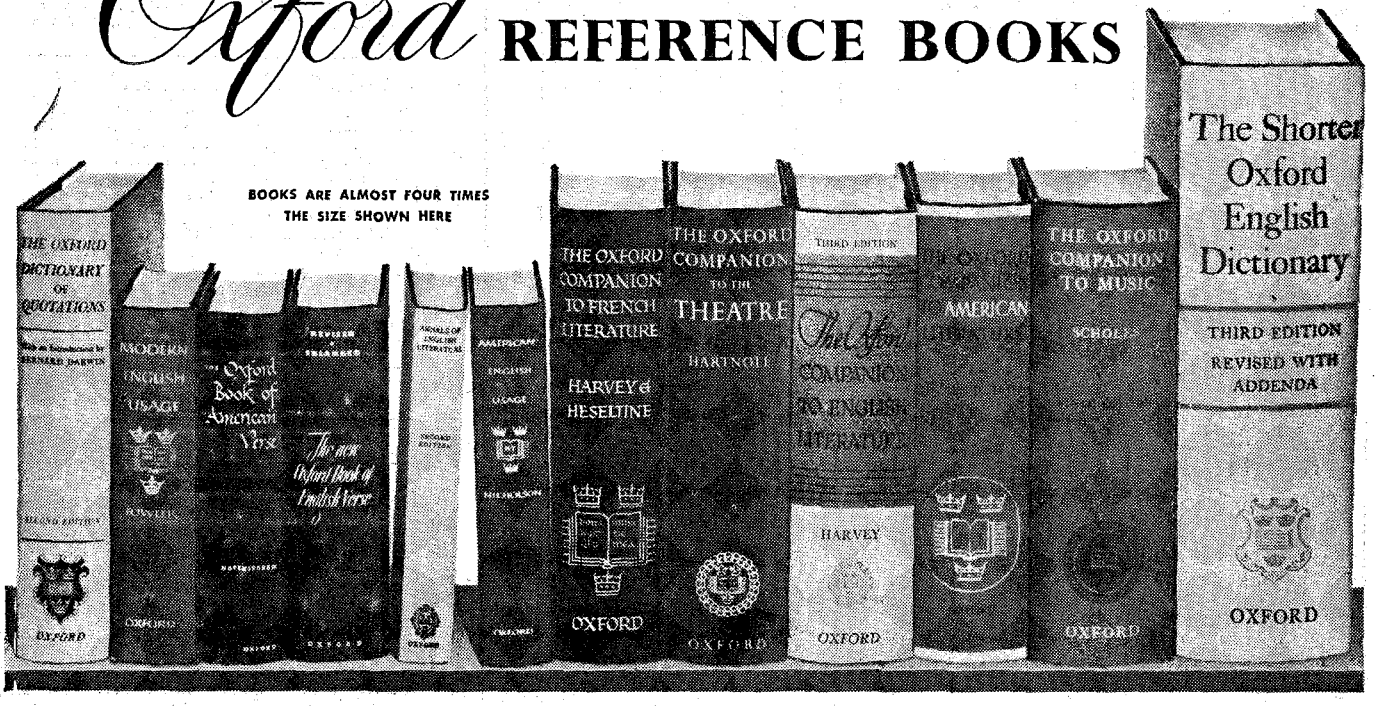
Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
***The* NATION**
333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014
CHelsea 2-8400

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Take your choice

OF THESE INDISPENSABLE

Oxford REFERENCE BOOKS



THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

With an introduction by BERNARD DARWIN. Most convenient of quotation books. Fuller cross reference of more than 40,000 quotations makes it possible to compare similar and related phrases and ideas. New Index gives the number of each quotation on its page. *2nd Revised Edition.* 1,022 pages.

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE

By H. W. FOWLER. The classic authority on correct speech and writing. Settles innumerable knotty questions of correct spelling, grammar and recognized usage, with sound guidance and many examples. *14th Printing.* 750 pages.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE

Chosen, with an Introduction, by F. O. MATTHIESSEN. Includes 571 selections from the works of 51 American poets ranging from the seventeenth century to the young poets of today. 1,188 pages.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE

Chosen and edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH. The best known and probably the most highly prized anthology of English poetry. Covers seven centuries of poetic development from thirteenth-century lyrics to modern poetry. *Revised Edition.* 1,198 pages.

ANNALS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1475-1950

NEW, REVISED EDITION

Long out of print, this "indispensable" reference work (CYRIL CONNOLLY) is now enlarged and brought up to date. It includes the main publications of any year, both literary and periodical; foreign events with a bearing on literature; and an alphabetical index of authors and their works. 400 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO FRENCH LITERATURE

Compiled and edited by SIR PAUL HARVEY *and* J. E. HESELTINE. 6,000 entries: articles on poets, novelists, dramatists, critics, historians, scientists, statesmen, philosophers; biographies, etc.; 900 pages; alphabetical listing; cross-referencing; 2 maps.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN-ENGLISH USAGE

By MARGARET NICHOLSON, based on *Fowler's Modern English Usage.* The "faster Fowler," especially prepared for Americans. Adds new words and idioms and variations in American and English usage and spelling. 684 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE THEATRE

Edited by PHYLLIS HARTNOLL. A one-volume encyclopedia of the theatre in all countries and all periods. This second edition has a supplement containing 154 illustrations and four pages of additional bibliography. *Second Edition.* 1,028 pages. *Illustrated.*

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE

Compiled and edited by SIR PAUL HARVEY. Covers alphabetically by title and author more than ten centuries of literature in the English language, with brief biographies of writers, summaries of plots, and explanations of the many allusions commonly met with in our literature. *3rd Edition.* 940 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE

By JAMES D. HART. The standard guide to American books and authors, thoroughly revised and brought up to date with summaries of recent books and information on writers who have come into prominence since 1948. *3rd Edition.* 898 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC

By PERCY A. SCHOLES. The most famous of all one-volume musical encyclopedias, brought up-to-date with new material on contemporary music and musicians. Includes biographies, opera plots and a Pronouncing Glossary of some 7,000 names and terms. *9th Edition. Illustrated.* 1,255 pages.

THE SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Prepared by WILLIAM LITTLE, H. W. FOWLER *and* J. COULSON. *Revised and edited by* C. T. ONIONS. The big one-volume dictionary (also known as *The Oxford Universal Dictionary*) based on the renowned "historical principles" which have made the original 13-volume *Oxford English Dictionary* a recognized classic. *3rd Edition.* 2,538 pages.

A unique offer to Nation readers

"OXFORD . . . publishes the best reference books in the English language," says Charles Poore in *Harper's.* Undoubtedly you have always wanted to own several, or all, of the books described on this page. Now, for a limited time, you have the privilege of examining your choice of these titles in your own home, with the understanding that you may pay for them on a budget plan. (Details are explained in the coupon below.)

This is your golden opportunity to build an Oxford reference library that is the dream of every educated person . . . on terms that permit easy monthly payments.

Published and periodically revised by Oxford University Press, honored by scholars and treasured by their owners, these modern reference works form a bond of kinship between men and women of culture throughout the world. Which of them belongs in your library *now?* You can make the choice without moving from your chair; use the coupon below to order as many volumes as you wish. *You need send no money.* Simply indicate the titles you wish, clip the coupon, and mail it.

THIS OFFER GOOD ONLY IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

SPECIAL OXFORD PURCHASE PLAN

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, INC.
16-00 Pollitt Drive, Fair Lawn, N. J. 07410

Please send me the Oxford Reference Books I have checked. If my order totals more than $11.00 I am to receive an itemized invoice. This may be paid in full or *at the rate of $5.00 a month* until the last remaining balance is paid.

Orders totaling less than $11.00 will be accompanied by a bill payable in full at the end of 30 days.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

N-1

- ☐ COMPANION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE $10.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE $10.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO FRENCH LITERATURE $13.00
- ☐ ANNALS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1475-1950 $6.50
- ☐ COMPANION TO MUSIC $25.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO THE THEATRE $13.00
- ☐ FOWLER: MODERN ENGLISH USAGE $4.50
- ☐ NICHOLSON: AMERICAN-ENGLISH USAGE $6.50
- ☐ *OXFORD BOOK OF* AMERICAN VERSE $7.00
- ☐ OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE $7.50
- ☐ OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS $11.00
- ☐ SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH (OXFORD UNIVERSAL) DICTIONARY $32.00

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED